

UNDERSTANDING A HISTORIC DOWNTOWN AS A “NEW” VERNACULAR FORM:
IMMIGRANT INFLUENCE IN WOODBURN, OREGON

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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What does historic preservation mean in a historic downtown with a long-standing immigrant population? With 90% of the business owners in the historic downtown identifying as Latino, Woodburn, Oregon presents the convergence of historic preservation advocates and Latino business owners. Some stakeholders view historic preservation as maintenance to preserve what exists, while some view preservation as restoring a building to its build date aesthetics. This thesis addresses what the field of preservation and the stakeholders in Woodburn value and how that causes conflicts when dealing with preservation efforts. The main method employed for study in this thesis was collection of qualitative data through interviewing historic preservation advocates, city officials, and Latino business representatives. By understanding Woodburn as an example of a “new” vernacular form, the analysis explores how the community of Woodburn can negotiate its regional dynamics to create a local distinctiveness, which includes a many-layered historical narrative.

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Dedicated to you, the reader. May you always ask the question: “Why?”

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Bright colors, Spanish signage, posters covering windows, and delicious Mexican restaurants embedded in brick, two-story commercial buildings. Does this sound like a historic downtown? The city of Woodburn, Oregon is a city of people, of buildings, of culture, of history. The current historic preservation field struggles in understanding how a city of constant change and flexibility can be an object of study and research, of preservation. How can a preservation professional argue for preserving something that is in a state of change? Why should the historic preservation field care to preserve such a small area, such as a downtown, with obvious changes to its “historic fabric”? In an environment that has a clearly defined historic core but changing aesthetics, what or *whose* “history” should be preserved? These historic preservation questions are understandable and interesting. A clarification of history as a continuum, and dialogue about the temporal component clouding the historic preservation field is presented in this thesis through research on the influence of the Latino culture on the historic downtown of Woodburn, Oregon.

This thesis will discuss the idea of “layering history” and not sticking to the widely accepted “50-year rule” outlined by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 as a determinant of “historic.” The Historic Preservation field is taught and governed by specific rules prescribed by the Department of the Interior and National Park Service, mostly from the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act and its subsequent amendments. Historic integrity is defined by a building’s age, being 50 years of age or older, unless it is of “exceptional importance.”¹ Buildings must have a period of significance when looking to restore it or place it on the National Register of Historic Places, this is defined as “span of time during which significant

¹ Patrick W. Andrus, “National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, (1990, revised 1995, 2001, 2002), accessed May 5, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/Index.htm>.

events and activities occurred. Events and associations with historic properties are finite; most properties have a clearly definable period of significance.”² Historical significance is “based on a property's capacity to convey some aspect of that character or identity from a specific period of our history. Whether or not a property can convey this depends upon its physical integrity.”³ While these were good guidelines to follow at the outset of the historic preservation field, their temporal and architectural rigidity is currently clouding what the historic preservation field considers valuable history worth preserving.

The use of the framework of “new” vernacular forms will support the view of “layers” of history. Looking at a case study in Woodburn, Oregon, where tension revolves around how the historic downtown should be preserved, will create an understanding of how this “new” vernacular forms framework can be utilized in a historic downtown. Some stakeholders own businesses but not the buildings downtown, which create environments ripe for deferred maintenance and can be exacerbated by absentee landlords. Some stakeholders have memories from the downtown, which make them feel tied to how the downtown looked and operated in the past. Others have *new* ideas about how the downtown should look and feel including the addition of another culture and the traditions that go along with the culture. With all the stakeholders’ view and ideas, how does the field of historic preservation navigate these tensions to create an environment where all cultures and people feel welcome? Through the understanding of “new” vernacular form, history becomes the present, and the past becomes layers of time. Woodburn’s historic downtown was chosen as the main case study in this thesis because of its historic downtown core, many layers of history, and diverse stakeholders.

² Eleanor O'Donnell, “Research and National Register Form.” *National Register Bulletin: Researching a Historic Property*, (1991, revised 1998), accessed May 16, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb39/INDEX.htm>.

³ Patrick W. Andrus, Michael J. Auer, Caroline R. Bedinger, Susan L. Henry, Stephen A. Morris, and John W. Renaud, “Part 6: The National Register of Historic Places,” *Manual for State Historic Preservation Review Boards*, (1992), accessed May 16, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/strevman/strevman6.htm>.

SIGNIFICANCE

The understanding of historic resources within the framework of “new” vernacular forms and a “layering” of history is important because America is currently changing. It is becoming “majority-minority.”⁴ The field of historic preservation has long been a field of elite, Anglo-Americans who preserve sites that are considered grand, master works that were expensive to build or hold national significance. The nationally specific, memory-embedded, and obvious places were a start for the historic preservation field. To be relevant today, history is in a constant state of flux, all stakeholders want to be represented by places they feel have memory and significance to them, not just places from the founding of America or that exhibit expensive tastes. History is what happens everyday and people will be more willing to participate and accept places that represent an importance in their everyday lives. This is where understanding and applying the framework of “new” vernacular forms can be used by the field to define and embrace the history of all the present stakeholders and their values and memories associated with a place. Yet, this also creates tension. Preserving historic places as they exist today challenges the long-held belief of historic preservation as preserving significant features of a building or restoring a building to its build date. Build date preservation devalues the identity, goals, and success of some of the stakeholders, specifically business owners, which are affected by the preservation practice.

This thesis discusses how “layering” history can be beneficial to all populations involved. Scholars within the cultural landscape and vernacular architecture fields established this “layering” concept in the late 1990s and are still developing it today.⁵ It begs the question of who preservation is for; the people who

⁴ U.S. Census Bureau, “Asians Fastest-Growing Race or Ethnic Group in 2012, Census Bureau Reports,” *Newsroom Releases*, (June 13, 2013), accessed November 30, 2013, <http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/population/cb13-112.html>.

⁵ Gabrielle M. Lanier, *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic: Architecture, Landscape, and Regional Identity*, (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005).

remember a resource, or the people who are using a resource. Preservation is memories and identity for people⁶ and thus a compromise where all people can be accommodated when understanding whose identity is represented through history, is created through “layering” history. Reading a historic resource in terms of its “layers” is a new understanding the historic preservation field should embrace to ensure the positive, sustainable, equitable legacy of history within historic resources is not destroyed.

This specific topic has not been widely discussed. Research has been done about how to interpret the histories of excluded populations from the past minimally studied how to include populations excluded in present day. In essence, when the placemaking practices of a new demographics such as the Latino population in Woodburn is different than the historic culture of the place; a conflict and tension can arise about whose history is important, and how that should be embodied in the environment. By understanding history as an “evolving” entity where the people who are involved are at the forefront of decision-making and planning, historic preservation can include changes made to historic buildings today as significant aspects of a community’s history.

Through analysis of the conflicts and tensions in Woodburn and arguing Woodburn is a “new” vernacular form, the historic preservation field can change its definition of “history” from a static temporal notion to an inclusive, dynamic understanding. Then all stakeholders can feel their history is represented in places they find significant. This is not just beneficial to the individuals in a community but also the historic preservation field as a whole. History is what happens everyday and people will be more willing to participate and accept places that represent an importance in their everyday lives. This will in turn create a vibrant cultural and

⁶ Kingston Wm. Heath. *The Patina of Place: The Cultural Weathering of a New England Industrial Landscape*, (University of Tennessee Press: Knoxville, TN, 2001).

historic environment where all people feel their identity is created through the history and the environment around them.

The subsequent literature review will dive into the discussions about whose history is important in preservation, the 50-year rule, its history and strength in the preservation field, the architectural and aesthetic significance of preserving places, and the field's solutions for negotiating the changing demographics in America today.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW OF DIVERSITY THEMES IN THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION FIELD

The current trend in the field of historic preservation is to acknowledge the diversity of cultures in the past and today as being an important aspect of the built environment and community spaces. Yet, most reputable sources state the subjective ideas of the author around the inclusion of diverse stakeholders, not based on rigorous research or preservation policy and practice. In the past, history has been elitist and mainly focused on one cultural group, the elite Anglo population. This literature review argues there is little literature and emphasis placed on the preservation of diverse or non-white, non-nationalistic, non-elite sites including its emphasis in popular introductory books to the historic preservation field. The literature also emphasizes the long-standing notion of “historic” as being 50 years of age or older. This notion is explored through its origins in legislation and its reputation today. Not surprisingly, the field has long established the originally built physical features or architectural “character defining features” of buildings as defining a building’s current historical significance. This leaves little room for understanding the importance of changes to buildings by new constituents and affects the relationship of current business owners to their buildings. These relationships include restrictions whether through codes or city ordinances or the social and societal restrictions placed on their decisions surrounding their buildings. The literature review will conclude with addressing how the field plans to negotiate the changing demographics and the tensions surrounding their affect on historic buildings.

The sources in this literature review were selected for their influence on the field of historic preservation. By studying the historic preservation field and it’s reaction to changing demographics, the city of Woodburn, Oregon becomes a case study with all the aforementioned debates rooted in its downtown because of the

presence of a Latino community. The subsequent chapter will explain the method of looking at history as a “new” vernacular form including its origins and benefits.⁷

WHO IS PRESERVATION FOR?

While diversity has been a long-standing area of concern for the historic preservation field, the field has minimally addressed how it responds to populations making significant changes to its definition of the “historic character” of a building in the present-day.⁸ This section of the literature will be organized chronologically to create a foundation for how the field has changed its definition of who preservation is for.

Most sources have addressed the history of preservation as starting with groundbreaking legislation and writings in the 1960s. In Robert E. Stipe’s edited book, *A Richer Heritage* published in 2003, one chapter specifically mentions the affect cultural diversity has on the preservation field.⁹ He states the preservation movement before and immediately following the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act includes white, upper-middle-class individuals, and is “mostly crisis-oriented and essentially defensive in nature.”¹⁰ In Stipe’s book, Antoinette Lee writes the chapter, “The Social and Ethnic Dimensions of Historic Preservation.”¹¹ She talks about the writing *With Heritage So Rich* written in 1966. It does not

⁷ Kingston Wm. Heath, *Vernacular Architecture and Regional Design: Cultural Process and Environmental Response*, (Architectural Press: Burlington, MA, 2009).

⁸ *Historic character* is defined as distinguishing physical aspects of both the interior and exterior of a building include the shape, the details up close, and interior finishes and structural elements. National Park Service, “Walk through historic buildings: Identifying visual character: What is historic character?,” accessed April 12, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/tps/education/walkthrough/start.htm>.

⁹ Robert E. Stipe, “Where Do We Go From Here?,” in *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Robert E. Stipe, 451-493, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003). 452.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Antoinette Lee, “The Social and Ethnic Dimensions of Historic Preservation,” in *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Robert E. Stipe, 385-404, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

mention social or ethnic history due in part to the “new social history” being incorporated into the field later than the document.¹² She does give credit to the document, stating it still was a reaction to urban renewal and transportation projects in the 1950s and 60s that wiped out neighborhoods where ethnic groups made their homes.¹³ Lee accounts for the first effort to represent cultural diversity in historic preservation as the 1943 establishment of the George Washington Carver National Monument in Diamond, Missouri by the U.S. Congress.¹⁴ Another site was the Booker T. Washington National Monument in Hardy, Virginia in 1956. Lee then argues the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 gave diversity a huge boost because it advertised the identification and recognition of historic places associated with minority groups.¹⁵

Lee also traces the preservation of African American sites.¹⁶ These included the Frederick Douglass house, but the National Park Service (NPS) did not recognize the site at the time it was preserved.¹⁷ She finds the first ethnic preservation efforts to receive attention from the field were “Project Weeksville” in 1968.¹⁸ It is a neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York with a multiethnic community history.¹⁹ Subsequently, the NPS surveyed black history sites including schools, residences, neighborhoods and communities.²⁰

¹² Lee, “The Social and Ethnic,” 385.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Antoinette J. Lee, “From Historic Architecture to Cultural Heritage: A Journey Through Diversity, Identity, and Community,” *Future Anterior*, Vol. 1, No. 2, (Fall 2004): 14-23, accessed March 31, 2015. www.jstor.org/stable/25834943, 16.

¹⁵ Lee, “From Historic Architecture,” 16-17.

¹⁶ Lee, “The Social and Ethnic,” 386.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 387.

¹⁹ Ibid., 387.

²⁰ Ibid., 387-388.

Stipe states “views about whose history is important and why, especially about the preservation of racial, ethnic, and folk cultures, have changed radically.”²¹ He gives the example of current NPS programs for vernacular landscapes as taking more than a decade from when they were advanced in the 1970s to achieve acceptance in the Park Service’s main programs.²²

*Diversity initiatives that might have been undertaken as early as the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s have gathered real strength only in the last two decades. A coordinated, holistic approach to broader “heritage” preservation opportunities, momentarily of interest during the Carter administration...is only now carving out an accepted place in the larger scheme of things.*²³

Under the heading “Changing Motives” Stipe argues since approximately 1975, diversity has become a preservation imperative along with the celebration of diversity.²⁴ He claims the National Trust, NPS, and States have taken the lead with creating initiatives to recognize “diverse contributions to American tradition of ethnic and minority populations.”²⁵

Another source that looks specifically at how preservation is a benefit for communities and its history is Andrew Hurley’s book, *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities*. Hurley believes developments in the fields of public history and archaeology help align historical narratives with historic preservation to create revitalization of urban places.²⁶ Along with Murtagh and

²¹ Stipe, “Where Do We,” 452.

²² Ibid., 461.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., 468-479.

²⁵ Ibid., 471.

²⁶ Andrew Hurley, *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities*. (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2010), x.

Stipe, Hurley describes the rise of social history as a field of study in the 1970s, yet also includes advances in cultural geography and urban sociology as instrumental tools for making the past meaningful to diverse populations.²⁷ Hurley goes on to explain, history up to the 1950s recounted progress and the “heroic acts of individuals,” glorifying the European march across America, national identity after the Civil War, industrial economy, and rise of the United States as a world power.²⁸ After 1970, the nation made an effort to acknowledge diverse groups. As an example, Hurley states in the past 30 years, almost every major U.S. city has had street renaming to honor important women and racial minorities.²⁹ Hurley also states the Civil Rights Movement, black power movement, women’s movement and anti-war movement empowered non-elite groups to claim their identities. The new social history’s goal was to democratize the history these non-elite groups found in public places.³⁰

In the 1980s, more government agencies and private organizations surveyed diverse communities including German-Russian fold architecture in South Dakota, black community architecture in Missouri, and minority settlements in Arkansas.³¹ Lee mentions a 1984 report entitled *Cultural Conservation: the Protection of the Cultural Heritage of the United States*.³² The National Historic Preservation Act Amendments of 1980, Title III, Section 502 mandated the report.³³ The report introduces and advocates for cultural conservation as the fusion of preservation and

²⁷ Hurley, *Beyond Preservation*, 32.

²⁸ Ibid., 33.

²⁹ Ibid., 34.

³⁰ Ibid., 35.

³¹ Lee, “The Social and Ethnic,” 388-389.

³² Ormond H. Loomis, “Cultural Conservation: The Protection of Cultural Heritage in the United States,” (Washington D. C.: Library of Congress, 1983).

³³ Loomis, “Cultural Conservation,” 1.

encouragement. Preservation would encompass planning, documentation, and maintenance and encouragement would encompass publication, public events, and educational programs.³⁴ Two out of five recommendations it asserts are to “include folklife and related traditional lifeways among the cultural resources recognized by the National Historic Preservation Act and the National Environmental Policy Act” and “Increase the recognition given to areas of traditional community life and values in the work of a number of agencies.”³⁵ It asserted, “cultural groups bring memories and ways of life from their country of origin and transplant these to their new homes regardless of the prevailing established environment.”³⁶ In essence, the mixing of memories, shared identities, and the artifacts involved are all cultural heritage and worthy of protection.³⁷ The report argued the financial costs, legislative energy, and administrative energy would be minimal to fulfill its recommendations in proportion to the increase in the cultural vitality of the nation.³⁸

The book *America's Architectural Roots: Ethnic Groups that Built America* edited by Dell Upton in 1986 also defines ethnic in relationship to architecture.³⁹ Upton explains “ethnicity” as the “shared cultural patterns that unite one group and distinguish it from others in the larger society.”⁴⁰ Upton claims we can expect American ethnic building traditions to blend memory and experience.⁴¹ Ethnicity is

³⁴ Ibid., iv.

³⁵ Ibid., v.

³⁶ Lee, “From Historic Architecture,” 20-21.

³⁷ Loomis, “Cultural Conservation,” 3.

³⁸ Ibid., 79.

³⁹ Dell Upton, ed. *America's Architectural Roots: Ethnic Groups that Built America*, (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1986).

⁴⁰ Upton, *America's Architectural*, 7.

⁴¹ Ibid., 9.

defined as ideas that people learn from one another; cultural, not genetic.⁴² Upton holds the viewpoint that some of the “colorful architecture” in America represents “voluntary transformation from traditional forms into something different from historical examples. They may not have the sanction of history behind them, but they are useful to their buildings as valued expressions of personal bonds.”⁴³ This viewpoint hints Upton thinks these types of changes are worth acknowledging but should not be considered “historical” because they do not have the “sanction of history behind them.”

Hurley goes on to state during the 1980s and 90s, the work of geographers and sociologists invited historians to view space as more than a container for events but also view space as a “dynamic force in the shaping and articulation of social processes.”⁴⁴ This understanding of urban space had implications for historic preservation in cities. Hurley states, (1) historic significance included the entire urban terrain, including moving beyond single buildings to include component parts and entire districts and (2) it broadened the associations with a site, not just the designers intent but also a complex “web of social relations that evolved over time.”⁴⁵ This brought about the interpretation of natural as well as the built environment, showing “if landscape elements could...be understood in the context of larger systems, and if the essence of places could no longer be reduced to a single moment in time, the raw materials from which people produced cultural forms and the environment that preceded human occupation also belonged in the story.” This led to the understanding of cultural landscapes or places that have historical significance because of both cultural and natural attributes.⁴⁶

⁴² Ibid., 11.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Hurley, *Beyond Preservation*, 39.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 39.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 40.

Up until the 1990s, the historic preservation field existed mainly in the political and elite realm. Legislation specifically created the notion of preserving historic sites for their architectural significance, relationship to the work of an architect, connection to a national event, or archaeological significance.⁴⁷ These preservation categories were associated with elite, Anglo, nationalistic sites. Once the 1960s and 70s unleashed movements to understand history from a broader perspective, the preservation field start to integrate new notions of who preservation is for. This included reports in the 1980s along with new academic perspectives introduced to the field. The 1990s introduced many theories of understanding who preservation is for beginning with Dolores Hayden's *Power of Place* as an ambitious and influential attempt to integrate multiple perspectives into the field of preservation.⁴⁸

Who Is Preservation For: Change and Place

The “power of place” came to fruition in the mid 1990s with Dolores Hayden's book entitled *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*.⁴⁹ She had very valuable thoughts about how public history can be integrated within the interpretation and preservation of urban environments. In this book she argues for the importance of acknowledging change and making an adjustment to practice and policy to support this change.

*Change is not simply a matter of acknowledging diversity or correcting a traditional bias toward the architectural legacy of wealth and power. It is not enough to add on a few African American or Native American projects, or a few women's projects, and assume that preserving urban history is handled well in the United States in the 1990s...Instead, a larger conceptual framework is required to support urban residents' demands for a far more inclusive “cultural citizenship.”*⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Patrick W. Andrus, “National Register Criteria.”

⁴⁸ Hurley, *Beyond Preservation*, 40.

⁴⁹ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995).

⁵⁰ Hayden, *The Power*, 11.

Hayden describes a major challenge of including ethnic histories as the notion of being a totally inclusive history. If one excluded history is encompassed, the entire urban cultural landscape in the analysis of the history should be addressed.⁵¹

Stipe acknowledges the mid-1980s sparked the movement toward a place-oriented philosophy of preservation arguing the preservation of place is as important as the preservation of buildings.⁵² Stipe also acknowledges that preservation has the threat of becoming too inclusive, not just of cultures, and thus not gaining support if preservation includes things such as energy conservation, heritage education, community conservation, and cultural celebration.⁵³ Hayden recommends finding creative ways to “interpret modest buildings as part of the flow of contemporary city life.”⁵⁴ Her idea of a socially inclusive urban landscape history has a goal to stimulate urban design that recognizes social diversity, and sense of place.⁵⁵ Her conclusion states,

*The historian who confronts urban landscapes in the 1990s needs to explore their physical shapes along with their social and political meanings...it engages social, historical, and aesthetic imagination to locate where narratives of cultural identity, embedded in the historic urban landscape, can be interpreted to project their largest and most enduring meanings for the city as a whole.*⁵⁶

This notion of understanding “place” as inclusive of all people who interact with the place was an instrumental thought to start the historic preservation field thinking in a new way when understanding whose history is important.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Stipe, “Where Do We,” 465.

⁵³ Ibid., 464.

⁵⁴ Hayden, *The Power*, 11.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 12-13.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 13.

Who Is Preservation For: Cultural Landscape Perspective

Another view that gained momentum in the field starting in the 1990s was looking at a place from a “cultural landscape perspective.” This view specifically affected the understanding that who preservation is for involves politics. One book that brings attention to this subject is *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes* edited by Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi in 1997.⁵⁷ This book is compiled of essays on landscape studies and the directions it is going. Dolores Hayden is also in line with this new perspective in “Urban Landscape History: The Sense of Place and the Politics of Space.”⁵⁸ Her opening includes, “Every American city and town contains fragments of historic cultural landscapes intertwined with its current spatial configuration. Layered with the traces of previous generations’ struggles to survive economically, raise children, and participate in community life.”⁵⁹ Hayden explains cultural landscape as cultural geography and architecture mixed with urban history.⁶⁰ She proposes to frame the history of urban space as an approach to aesthetics with an approach to politics creating a landscape.⁶¹ Lee goes on to mention cultural preservation through reports such as the 1990 *Keepers of the Treasures* that suggested funding for American Indian traditions through oral history as well as buildings and sites.⁶² This report had an important quote that suggested the field develop a new way of looking at preservation to include historic

⁵⁷ Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi, ed. *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997).

⁵⁸ Dolores Hayden, “Urban Landscape History: The Sense of Place and the Politics of Space” in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by Groth Paul and Todd W. Bressi, 111-133, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 111.

⁵⁹ Hayden, “Urban Landscape,” 111.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Lee, “From Historic Architecture,” 17.

properties and cultural traditions and adjust federal procedures, standards, and guidelines accordingly.⁶³

Hayden defines a sense of place as both a “biological response to the surrounding physical environment and a cultural creation, giving reference to geographer Yi-Fu Tuan.”⁶⁴ She then cites environmental psychologists Setha M. Low and Irwin Altman’s definition of “place attachment” as a development of social, material, and ideological dimensions as individuals create ties to public life as residents of a community.⁶⁵ She explains a cultural landscape focuses on the evolution of places and its attachments. She states cultural geography developed in the 1940s and talked about mapping ethnicity and other complicated urban patterns but it avoided political issues.⁶⁶ Hayden states cultural landscape studies retain “the biological and cultural insights necessary to convey the sense of place while adding a more focused analysis of social and economic conflict.”⁶⁷ She argues place needs to be at the center of urban landscape history because the aesthetic qualities of the built environment are just as important as the political struggles over space.⁶⁸ This understanding of a place is instrumental in understanding urban spaces and the effects of power and cultural diversity on its experience. By drawing attention to the politics involved with place, Hayden is able to start a conversation about the affects of political issues such as racial tensions and power structures by gently introducing this new perspective of “cultural landscapes” without directly attacking the issue.

⁶³ Ibid., 20

⁶⁴ Hayden, “Urban Landscape,” 112.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 112.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 113.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 113.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 114.

In contrast to Hayden's understanding of cultural landscape studies as encompassing the politics of a place, Norman Tyler et. al. in the book *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles, and Practice*, written in 1994, defines cultural landscapes as how geographers study areas of ethnicity specifically dealing with settlement patterns, folkways, and building types.⁶⁹ He relates this to conducting historic surveys or creating Heritage Area boundaries.⁷⁰ Although he totally ignores the political aspect of spaces, Tyler does believe a building does not represent just its current state but a longer continuum. He thinks buildings are a link between what "came before and what will come in the future."⁷¹

Understanding the evolution of what the historic preservation field defines as "who preservation is for" shows there are many different viewpoints from definitions provided by legislation, definitions provided by scholars, and definitions provided by political climates depending on the decade. This supports the problem of the field struggling to address how it responds to populations making significant changes to historic buildings in the present-day. To further understand this issue, an understanding of how the field defines "historic" is explained.

50-YEAR RULE

The National Register of Historic Places states, "properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register... [unless] it is of exceptional importance."⁷² According to the "National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years," this timeframe was established to guarantee historical perspective and "avoid judgments based on

⁶⁹ Norman Tyler, Ted J. Ligibel, and Ilene R. Tyler, *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles and Practice*, (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009), 326.

⁷⁰ Tyler et. al., *Historic Preservation*, 326.

⁷¹ Ibid., 104.

⁷² Patrick W. Andrus, "National Register Criteria."

current or recent popular trends.”⁷³ While this bulletin does not directly apply to this study, because the buildings in Woodburn being changed by the Latino culture are over 50 years old, the *changes* that are being proposed as historic are less than 50 years old in most cases. The “50-year rule” thus clouds the field’s viewpoint of what can be historic and in turn, whose history can be told because the 50-year rule then wipes out two generations of changes to the historic buildings. This understanding of “historic” as being something that is 50 years of age or older had its start earlier than the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act.⁷⁴

According to John Sprinkle Jr., the origin of the 50-year rule was not the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, but the Historic Sites Act of 1935 and the creation of the Historic Sites Survey which became the National Historic Landmarks program.⁷⁵ The goal of the Historic Sites Survey was “to identify sites and buildings that were nationally significant, that deserved protection, and that might be considered additions to the National Park Service.”⁷⁶ The National Park System Advisory Board developed most of the basic criteria for significance and integrity. They adopted the 50-year rule in 1948 as a Historic Sites criteria, which was only broken for a few presidential and atomic heritage sites.⁷⁷ This rule was adopted to structure the review of sites so they might be identified, categorized, and recognized to avoid controversy.⁷⁸ In the mid-1930s, Sprinkle states, the NPS and its advisors

⁷³ Marcella Sherfy, and W. Ray Luce, “National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years,” U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, (originally published 1979. Revised 1990; 1996; 1998), accessed May 1, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb22/>.

⁷⁴ U.S. Congress, *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966*, Public Law 89-665, 106th Cong., accessed April 28, 2015, <http://www.achp.gov/docs/nhpa%202008-final.pdf>.

⁷⁵ John H. Sprinkle Jr., “‘Of Exceptional Importance’: The Origins of the ‘Fifty-Year Rule’ in Historic Preservation,” *The Public Historian*, vol. 29, no. 2, (Spring 2007), 81-103, accessed May 1, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/tph.2007.29.2.81>, 82.

⁷⁶ Sprinkle, “‘Of Exceptional Importance,’” 82.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 83.

did not want to deal with controversial issues in history surrounding the Reconstruction, Populism, and other themes of the Gilded Age.⁷⁹ At the time, the advisors claimed, “American history, or at least the noncontroversial parts of it, effectively ended at the conclusion of the Civil War.”⁸⁰ Then, in 1948, the *Report of the Committee on Standards and Surveys on Criteria to be used in Selecting Historic Sites and Buildings* established only structures or sites relating to events or persons older than 50 years will be considered for the surveys. The National Trust, established in 1947, subsequently adopted that standard for the evaluation of properties they would steward and manage.⁸¹

In 1961, the 50-year rule was “codified with a technical amendment to the Surplus Property Act.”⁸² The Surplus Property Act allowed the federal government to transfer federal lands to states and other parties for the purpose of establishing historic monuments.⁸³ Some of the first exceptions to the 50-year rule were for places important to presidents. Sprinkle states in 1965 the NPS Advisory Board made exceptions for presidents stating, “an election by the citizens of this Nation of a President is in itself an event of transcendent historical importance.”⁸⁴

The National Historic Preservation Act was passed in 1966 and transformed the historic preservation practice. The federal government no longer emphasized individual sites and buildings of national significance, but also addressed a broad public and private partnership.⁸⁵ Sprinkle argues this partnership blended the old and the new of all levels of significance. He states the Act was still built upon the

⁷⁹ Ibid., 84.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid., 85.

⁸² Ibid., 90.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 92.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 96.

foundation of the National Park System Advisory Board but also allowed Americans to have a “a sense of stability and continuity derived from a past that is always present” in their changing environment, terming this “new preservation”.⁸⁶ This Act established the National Register of Historic Places that included the 50-year rule in its criteria from the National Historic Landmark criteria.⁸⁷ Sprinkle claims,

*The boundary of historical importance was expanded to include state and local level of significance. Areas of consideration were enlarged to include properties more representative of the total American experience and sites that had intrinsic aesthetic values. So it is not surprising that the chronological boundaries of the program were also stretched. Inclusiveness was geographic, topical, ethnic, and chronological.*⁸⁸

While the 50-year rule is not set in stone and there is a criterion for sites and structures less than 50 years of age, it has still been engrained in the historic preservation field as a rule that must be followed. Sprinkle thinks the 50-year rule has caused properties less than fifty years old to be neglected by preservationists and planners because it has become a rule through which properties must initially pass to be compliant with the historic preservation process.⁸⁹ Yet, Sprinkle concludes with the importance that the 50-year rule was “established and well-tested long before passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966.”⁹⁰

Elaine Stiles explores the relevance of the 50-year rule in her article, “50 Years Reconsidered.”⁹¹ She agrees the field should evaluate if the 50-year restriction is useful and valuable, consider what the field would look like without the time-

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 99.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 102.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 103.

⁹¹ Elaine Stiles, “50 Years Reconsidered,” *Forum Journal*, vol. 24, no. 4. (Summer 2010), accessed May 1, 2015, <http://www.preservationnation.org/forum/library/members-only/50-years-reconsidered.html#.VULx99NViko>.

centered guideline, and understand how the profession may need to change if age was not part of significance of historic properties.⁹² Stiles argues the 50-year rule philosophy is based on the idea that “the passage of time enhances our ability to understand, contextualize, and responsibly evaluate the significance of a resource.”⁹³ She also states the 50-year guideline influences programs such as historic building codes, rehabilitation tax credits, façade improvement, rehabilitation projects, and grant funding.⁹⁴ Yet, negative effects on the field include implying that the past “ends” and the present “begins” after 50 years. It also emphasizes the belief that is what is old is valuable and meaningful to society and 50 years marks what is “old” or anything in the recent past is inferior to earlier works.⁹⁵ She argues,

In some modes of interpretation, the requirement is understood as meaning that only iconic, critically acclaimed, or nationally significant resources from the recent past are “good enough” for protection, while the vernacular fabric we so highly value in other historic contexts has less worth if it was developed during the last two generations.⁹⁶

Advocates for the 50-year rule argue without it, the review process for historic places will be never ending, preservation commissions will be overwhelmed, budgets will be blown, controversy will be sparked, and the public’s concept of “historic” and the guideline definition will create public relations disasters.⁹⁷ Yet, Stiles states reexamining the 50-year rule is an effort worth taking, “We must move forward, confident in the wisdom that we have much more to gain

⁹² Stiles, “50 Years Reconsidered.”

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

from employing a spirit of inclusiveness in preservation than we may lose in confronting controversy.”⁹⁸

EMPHASIS ON PHYSICAL, ELITE ARCHITECTURE

As noted in the understanding of the 50-year rule, the history in preservation has predominantly been to focus on significant architectural buildings of national significance. Stipe sees the preservation movement emphasizing both physical and social community building and diverse aspects of history, culture, and heritage only in the last two decades.⁹⁹ This architectural, artifact-based understanding affects how the field interprets historic buildings undergoing change. Lina Cofresi and Rosetta Radtke argue, “the preservation of diverse, ethnic cultures is a special concern at the local level, notwithstanding that it is widely accepted as imperative at the national level. Though the physical environment remains paramount in preservation, more attention needs to be given to the social environment.”¹⁰⁰

William J. Murtagh, in his book *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation In America*, minimally addresses the issue of cultural diversity in the field, but still manages to discuss it. Murtagh states “culture” is part of the National Register criterion and social values along with environmental and recreational values have increased instead of only architecture as a value.¹⁰¹ This includes changing the way the field uses parameters for preservation and conservation as well as “allied interest groups” such as folklorists and vernacular building advocates.¹⁰² He states this change in the view of preservation away from the

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Stipe, “Where Do We,” 452.

¹⁰⁰ Lina Cofresi and Rosetta Radtke, “Local Government Programs: Preservation Where It Counts” in *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Robert E. Stipe, 117-156, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

¹⁰¹ William Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2005), 166.

¹⁰² Murtagh, *Keeping Time*, 166.

Eurocentric “should eventually demand a new preservation training initiative in schools and universities that goes beyond existing concepts currently offered in such programs.”¹⁰³

In the chapter “Moving Forward: Futures for a Preservation Movement” by Ned Kaufman, he begins by addressing the divide between preservation professional debates and citizen debates. He states preservationists debate problems of authenticity, integrity, style, and significance; where as, citizens debate the “loss of character, pleasure or usefulness of the places they inhabit and love, of the ability to recall the past in them, of being forced to leave them...also about the loss of cultural identity associated with them.”¹⁰⁴ Kaufman goes on to state the field defines professional competence in rather narrow terms that does not include emotional and socially complex issues.¹⁰⁵ This is a similar remark as Murtagh.¹⁰⁶ Kaufman states in his book *Place, Race, and Story*, that there are two kinds of people who conserve heritage, one group that measure success from authenticity or technical competence, and a second that uses external measures such as social relevance or utility.¹⁰⁷

In the book, *Giving Preservation A History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, from 2003, David Lowenthal writes the chapter, “The Heritage Crusade and Its Contradictions.” He describes a broad history of the meaning of heritage through time, and then specifically focuses on three “facets of growth”

¹⁰³ Ibid., 166.

¹⁰⁴ Ned Kaufman, “Moving Forward: Futures for a Preservation Movement” in *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, ed. Randall Mason and Max Page, 313-328, (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2003). This is the same dilemma exhibited in Woodburn.

¹⁰⁵ Kaufman, “Moving Forward,” 314.

¹⁰⁶ Murtagh, *Keeping Time*, 166.

¹⁰⁷ Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation*, (Oxford, UK: Routledge, 2009), 1.

within heritage today.¹⁰⁸ He states today's heritage is trying to evoke the vernacular,¹⁰⁹ citing Scandinavian open-air museums and Colonial Williamsburg as examples.¹¹⁰ Yet, he states heritage remains more an elite than folk domain.¹¹¹ He claims the more people engage with heritage, the less "esoteric and exacting it grows."¹¹² Lowenthal calls this a "populist trend" that is worldwide.¹¹³ Lowenthal claims this trend as starting a century ago in America with George Washington being packaged as a common man and Abraham Lincoln as a "rustic rail-splitter."¹¹⁴ Lowenthal also states an interesting comment in regards to history expanding closer to the present. He states,

*The accrual of ever more recent relics also makes heritage harder to demarcate from the ongoing present...Proximity to the present makes heritage ever more relevant to, but ever less distinct from, our own world. At length all that distinguishes heritage is its history of previous use.*¹¹⁵

Antoinette J. Lee wrote an article for the *Future Anterior* entitled "From Historic Architecture to Cultural Heritage: A Journey Through Diversity, Identity, and Community." In this article she expands on her definition and history of cultural heritage in historic preservation.¹¹⁶ She reminds the audience, historic preservation has long been viewed as protection of architectural landmarks but currently other

¹⁰⁸ David Lowenthal, "The Heritage Crusade and Its Contradictions" in *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, ed. Randall Mason and Max Page, 19-44, (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2003).

¹⁰⁹ Lowenthal's definition of "vernacular" is not clear, but can be deduced to mean ordinary or everyday associations to people. More information on the evolution of the term "vernacular" is in proceeding sections.

¹¹⁰ Lowenthal, "The Heritage Crusade," 27.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 28.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 30.

¹¹⁶ Lee, "From Historic Architecture."

issues are being investigated including “buildings and structures constructed by or re-formed by cultural groups in the recent past.”¹¹⁷ This view is shared by Stipe who states many people feel the preservation philosophy is too narrowly focused on architecture as its dominant value.¹¹⁸ Lee believes in history as a “malleable” subject that is “rewritten, rethought, reinterpreted, reinvigorated, and resuscitated to illuminate contemporary challenges.”¹¹⁹

This narrative of admitting historic preservation as elite and architecture focused, but stating it should be more inclusive, is dominant throughout the field. The next step in the process of inclusion is to take action and make practices that live out the mission of becoming more inclusive. The field will never know what works in terms of inclusivity or not if only theories are suggested instead of employing practices.

NEGOTIATING CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS: “LAYERING” HISTORY

While the discussion of “who preservation is for” has become more inclusive over time with political movements and the “new social history,” a psychological barrier still exists between marginalized communities and preservation advocates on a power dynamic and political level. Radtke and Cofresi state minority and ethnic communities and neighborhoods are not involved in preservation efforts with the exception of some large metropolitan areas. They state breaking through “minority race and class bias” is difficult. On the local front it is the “single most necessary change in the preservation battle.”¹²⁰ They suggest including minority resources in historical surveys, representation on review boards and “welcomed involvement” in

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 15.

¹¹⁸ Stipe, “Where Do We,” 461.

¹¹⁹ Lee, “From Historic Architecture,” 15.

¹²⁰ Cofresi and Radtke, “Local Government,” 152.

other preservation activities to move toward an inclusive preservation movement.¹²¹

For a broad reasoning why the field needs to look closer at the effect of other cultures, is Dell Upton's chapter "Seen, Unseen, and Scene" in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*. Upton takes the general approach of saying there is more to landscape than just the visible.¹²² He believes landscape as the product of both mental and physical acts but currently the field describes it in collective terms.¹²³ He claims the stability of physical form does not mean stability of meaning; there may be no meaning in the form at all. He states, "by picking apart seen and unseen, we can begin to get at the variety of human experience in a way that shatters landscape's pretenses."¹²⁴

*The twin issues of society and diversity and landscape and attitudes toward its use appear to be signaling a redirection of preservation interests in the last couple of decades. Evident is the realization that American culture today is more than the Eurocentric inheritance that the average American has traditionally assumed it to be.*¹²⁵

Murtagh talks about the sovereign Native American Indian nations as being a precedent for identifying a greater inclusiveness to American heritage.¹²⁶ He also mentions other cultural contributions stating, "the recognition of this wide spectrum of culture added to the existing Eurocentric and African base we called American heritage has transformed it into a rich multicultural mix unforeseen by previous generations."¹²⁷

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Dell Upton, "Seen, Unseen, and Scene," in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by Groth Paul and Todd W. Bressi, 174-179, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 174.

¹²³ Upton, "Seen, Unseen," 175.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 176.

¹²⁵ Murtagh, *Keeping Time*, 165.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

In the book *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, Wilbur Zelinsky writes a chapter entitled "Seeing Beyond the Dominant Culture."¹²⁸ Zelinsky defines ethnic as, "a fairly large real, or perhaps imagined, community of individuals who cherish a distinctive culture or history and regard their specialness as peculiarly important, setting them apart from other social groups. Such as community may...aspire to some degree of political autonomy."¹²⁹ He states the dominant culture or pervasive ethnic group in the United States is Anglo-American, which is the product of various immigrant groups and their cultures from northwest Europe.¹³⁰ They brought with them a set of transformations along with the automatic acceptance of those transformations by later arrivals and their progeny.¹³¹ Later immigrants such as those from Latin America "confronted a preformed, predetermined set of rules...one they could modify only in the more trivial of details."¹³² He makes an interesting observation stating he is not able to identify any non-American ethnic landscapes in any American city.¹³³ He claims some neighborhoods have ethnic markers such as signs, religious objects, and ecclesiastical architecture, but those items or structures are a "blending of styles and construction techniques from two contrasting ethnic worlds."¹³⁴ He claims items a person might think are ethnic are only cosmetic and that ethnic groups did not design or build the neighborhoods.¹³⁵ Zelinsky makes this argument because he thinks it is important to look beyond the dominant culture but

¹²⁸ Wilbur Zelinsky, "Seeing Beyond the Dominant Culture," in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by Groth Paul and Todd W. Bressi, 157-161, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 157.

¹²⁹ Zelinsky, "Seeing Beyond," 157.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid., 159.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 160.

it may not be effective to examine the “pseudo-ethnic landscapes as a strategy for getting at cultural adjustment or survival.”¹³⁶

Important within the understanding of cultural diversity in preservation is the preservation of “ethnic architecture” that is not permanent such as signage, painting and other cultural expressions.¹³⁷ Lee argues the emerging streetscape of “ephemeral cultural expressions” does not conform to one of the four preservation standards, restoration, rehabilitation, preservation or reconstruction.¹³⁸ Although preservation of historic “Main Streets” have been successful when applying a treatment to a historic storefront, Lee states new ethnic architectures “do not fit into the standard Main Street image, but they are genuine expressions of the group that occupies the buildings.”¹³⁹

Stipe acknowledges the questions of what criteria should be used to save places, which ones, and who decides as questions that the preservation field tends to skip over.¹⁴⁰ He states,

Since the mid-nineteenth century cultural separatism and physical segregation have tended slowly to be replaced by differences related more to class than

¹³⁶ Ibid., 161.

¹³⁷ Lee, “From Historic Architecture,” 21.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 22. The National Park Service defines the four standards for historic preservation. “Preservation focuses on the maintenance and repair of existing historic materials and retention of a property's form as it has evolved over time. Rehabilitation acknowledges the need to alter or add to a historic property to meet continuing or changing uses while retaining the property's historic character. Restoration depicts a property at a particular period of time in its history, while removing evidence of other periods. Reconstruction re-creates vanished or non-surviving portions of a property for interpretive purposes.” National Park Service, “Four Approaches to the Treatment of Historic Properties,” accessed April 14, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/four-treatments.htm>

¹³⁹ Lee, “From Historic Architecture,” 22. The Main Street Program is a “national organization committed to historic preservation-based community revitalization. Through education, outreach, hands-on training, online resources, facilitating connections and conferences, we inspire and enable leaders across the country to build strong communities.” National Main Street Center, “Welcome to the National Main Street Center, Inc.,” accessed April 14, 2015, <http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/>.

¹⁴⁰ Stipe, “Where Do We,” 472.

*race...However, general principles of human ecology, the accelerating speed with which cultural diffusion is already taking place...and the long-term tendency of disparate populations toward cultural, ethnic, and racial homogeneity suggest that the problem may eventually solve itself.*¹⁴¹

Stipe thinks this homogeneity is too easy an answer to an immediate and complex problem.¹⁴² He acknowledges situations where one historical tradition conflicts with another is an important question but he does not present any clear understanding of what that means.¹⁴³ Stipe closes with, "I believe history "is," and that not only one day will the lifeways and artifacts of today be seen as part of a larger tradition worth saving, but that they already have a valued place in securing our present life environment...There must be an acceptance of change, for without change there is no such thing as tradition to preserve."¹⁴⁴

Similar to Stipe, Murtagh concludes his book by stating preservation is a

*Continuum of change and not the rigid enforcement of the status quo as it is so often misconstrued...the success of local preservation efforts stands in direct relationship to the ability of experts at the national and state levels to be sensitive to this and serve the movement well. Only then will the dialogue of the present about the past serve the needs of the present and the future, producing the quality of life we seek.*¹⁴⁵

Along with Stipe and Murtagh, Lowenthal acknowledges heritage as "not a static finished product pickled in amber but an ever-changing palimpsest."¹⁴⁶ He claims the current populations legacy is never original, it includes the previous peoples alterations and additions along with their first creations.¹⁴⁷ He claims the

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 493.

¹⁴⁵ Murtagh, *Keeping Time*, 166.

¹⁴⁶ Lowenthal, "The Heritage Crusade," 39.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

future is best served by not handing down relics, but knowledge of “traditional creative skills, institutions in good working order, and habits of resilience in coping with the uncertain vicissitudes of existence.”¹⁴⁸

To address these later alterations and additions to “first creations,” some scholars specifically address the notion of “layering” history. Lanier and Herman state in their book *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes*, that buildings should be “read” the way archaeologists use the principles of stratigraphy, horizon, and *terminus post quem* when unveiling artifacts.¹⁴⁹ Lanier and Herman state stratigraphy is the understanding that archaeological remains are layered, with the oldest layers the deepest in the ground. By looking at a building this way, layers of occupation and alteration are revealed within a building.¹⁵⁰ “By isolating periods of change, we can reconstruct the appearance of the building over time. We can devise a narrative of sorts, an architectural story connected through a series of points in the building’s history.”¹⁵¹

Lanier also talks about this layering through cultural landscape in her book *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic: Architecture, Landscape, and Regional Identity*.¹⁵² She states perceptions change throughout time including what gains and loses meaning, yet past perceptions continue to shape interpretations today. She thinks this “reflexive aspect” of cultural landscapes creates a dialogue between historical and contemporary landscape perceptions and identity formation. In this

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 40.

¹⁴⁹ Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes*, (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997): 5.

¹⁵⁰ Lanier and Herman, *Everyday Architecture*, 7.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Lanier, *The Delaware Valley*, xii.

sense, interpreting a landscapes a “layers” of history is necessary when determining what forms identity in a region.¹⁵³

These scholars emphasize the importance of learning how to negotiate the changing demographics within the United States by understanding change and how history and other cultures are an additional “layer” of history, which defines what history is today.

THE NEW PRESERVATION MOVEMENT

These notions of understanding who preservation is for, the constraints of the 50-year rule, the context of the field as saving an elite, architecture focused artifact, and learning how the field negotiates changing demographics leads some scholars to suggest some possible resolutions to these issues. Lee suggests diversifying the preservation *profession* is a critical step for the field to take to attract interest and support all states and localities.¹⁵⁴ She asserts,

*Let us hope that the preservation establishment will welcome these diverse communities, understand diverse cultural heritage from the communities' point of view, and find common ground that unites community values and historic preservation standards. If this can happen, then historic preservation will truly move into the 21st century and serve the needs of the new century's population.*¹⁵⁵

Kaufman thinks the entire preservation *movement* should embrace a language subtly, yet significantly distinct from the first language of the preservation movement, being able to encompass “how human communities experience places and how they feel about them.”¹⁵⁶ One preservation philosophy that includes social value within the broader, international preservation philosophy, addressed by

¹⁵³ Ibid. xiii.

¹⁵⁴ Lee, “From Historic Architecture,” 22.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Kaufman, “Moving Forward,” 315.

Kaufman, is the Burra Charter adopted by the Australia International Council on Monuments and Sites.¹⁵⁷ The Burra Charter was first adopted in 1979 with the most recent edition being from 2013.¹⁵⁸ The Charter defines *cultural significance* as “aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, association, meanings, records, related places and related objects. Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups.”¹⁵⁹ In the “Conservation Principles, Article 5: Values” it states conservation of a place should consider all aspects of cultural and natural significance without emphasizing one value at the expense of others.¹⁶⁰ “Article 13” states, “Co-existence of cultural values should always be recognized, respected and encouraged. This is especially important in cases where they conflict.”¹⁶¹ “Article 15: Change” states, “the contributions of all aspects of cultural significance of a place should be respected...emphasizing or interpreting one period or aspect at the expense of another can only be justified when what is left out, removed or diminished is of slight cultural significance.”¹⁶² The Burra Charter is a good example of a preservation philosophy that is more encompassing of diverse cultures, but also has boundaries because it clearly states definitions and the processes that need to be done to fulfill the Charter.

Hurley concludes his book by requesting the field think of redevelopment as an “evolutionary rather than a revolutionary process” and promote respect for

¹⁵⁷ Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 4.

¹⁵⁸ Australia ICOMOS Incorporated, International Council on Monuments and Sites, *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*, (2013), accessed March 31, 2015 from <http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf>

¹⁵⁹ Australia ICOMOS Incorporated, 2.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 6.

“individuals and groups that contributed to the community’s development in preceding generations up to the present.”¹⁶³ He concludes saying,

The ability to position a neighborhood in the flow of time---to know what worked and what failed, to arrive at a consensus about what was admirable and what was reprehensible, to understand how the present emerged out of the past--- enhances a community’s potential to direct change toward desirable outcomes. How ironic, or perhaps how appropriate, if through public engagement with history the urban historic district were to find itself on the cutting edge of revising the politics of place. ¹⁶⁴

One source that tries to address diversity head-on within the preservation movement is Kaufman’s book, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation*. In this book, Kaufman spends a lot of time asking important questions such as “How should preservationists balance the competing claims of disparate sites and divergent values recognized by culturally diverse groups?” and at what point do people’s feelings of attachment to places become historic “resources”?¹⁶⁵ Kaufman states three aspects of the preservation field he feels is lacking in diversity. (1.) Content: the narrative that preservation offers to the public, diminishing immigrant and minority groups; (2.) Process: the demography of the profession does not resemble the diversity of the country; (3.) Constituency:

Beyond what is being preserved, or who is getting the jobs, it is useful to ask who benefits from the work, and who will support it. Right now, most of the benefits are going to relatively affluent white people...this puts preservation in a trap. If it is to remain useful to an evolving society, and continue receiving public support, preservationists will have to figure out how to broaden the constituency: how to provide benefits to, and work on behalf of, more diverse communities. ¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Hurley, *Beyond Preservation*, 201.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 2-3.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 11-12.

While Kaufman talks about progressive ideas associated with race, place, and story, he seems to still be referring to marginalized communities from the past, not present. He states recognizing the investments communities make in their places, and representing the experience of all group should be in *historic sites, markers, and museums*.¹⁶⁷ He does not mention cultures of today and how that affects preservation of places such as a historic downtown that has a new culture. By understanding history as an “evolving” entity where the people who are involved or “constituency” are at the forefront of decision making and planning, historic preservation can include changes made to historic buildings today as significant aspects of a community’s history.

¹⁶⁷ Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 398.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY: “NEW” VERNACULAR FORM AND BEYOND

As stated earlier, the historic preservation field is clouded with the notion that preservation must be a restoration to a time at least 50 years of age or older and focused on architectural features. This thesis is unveiling the notion of changing demographics affecting historic buildings as another layer of history. Yet, with this understanding comes tension and conflict. Conflict might be whose history should be told in a community, or what architectural features are significant enough to save, and who has a voice when deciding preservation plans. This study specifically addresses these issues by applying the theory of “new” vernacular forms introduced by Dr. Kingston Wm. Heath. Heath mentions 3 steps when determining truth to locality to create what is a “new” vernacular form; (1) recognizing what holds meaning and embodies the cultural relevance within the community; (2) understanding the cultural revitalization of Place relies on the inclusion of the people who are a part of its community; (3) acknowledging building features and materials are not arbitrary but includes task, time, and place or preserving buildings is not enough, preserving local life ways, natural resources, and local economies are also important.¹⁶⁸ These steps are applied to the conflicts found to be in the historic preservation field and are embodied in this thesis through interviews and understanding of the political, social, and economic context surrounding the Woodburn historic downtown.

The thesis employs the case study of Woodburn, Oregon as a method for analysis of the notion of “new” vernacular forms. By employing one, specific case study the author was able to do an in-depth analysis of how stakeholders in the historic downtown view history and how they respond to the notion of layering history. While Woodburn is a unique study, being a downtown with 90% Latino

¹⁶⁸ Heath, *Vernacular Architecture*, 41.

owned businesses,¹⁶⁹ it is also indicative of what the entire country is experiencing, with a shift from majority White to majority-minority ethnicities by 2050.¹⁷⁰ With this change in demographics comes conflicts surrounding how to preserve the historic buildings in Woodburn and respect the current population who patronize the downtown.

The primary method of investigation for this thesis is personal interviews with residents of Woodburn, Oregon. The interviewees were asked a series of questions related to historic preservation efforts and advocacy in Woodburn. The list of questions can be found in Appendix A. This method of investigation is not a widely used form of research for the historic preservation field. As the thesis's main goal is to understand why tension is forming around change within historic downtowns, asking the people who feel tense was the most practical way of trying to understand the situation. The thesis also argues the field needs to become more aware of the people involved in historic preservation and in turn, uses direct contact with the people involved in historic preservation to justify the findings instead of projecting an assumed feeling. Each interview lasted from 30 minutes to 1.5 hours. The study included 11 interviews. The majority of the interviewees are active in historic preservation advocacy but also active in city affairs and Latino business affairs.

The thesis also primarily uses the framework of "new" vernacular forms to create a basis for the idea of a more inclusive understanding of historic preservation to the field. The notion of "new" vernacular forms attends to the idea of creating an inclusive understanding of history while also creating boundaries. The boundaries enable a palpable understanding of layers of history without arguing that everything that happens to any building is historic. The notion of layering history yet still

¹⁶⁹ Roanel Herrera, "Latino Small-Town Revitalization as 'Blight': Woodburn, Oregon," Terminal Project, Department of Planning, Public Policy, and Management, University of Oregon. (December 2013), 5.

¹⁷⁰ U.S. Census Bureau, "Asians Fastest-Growing Race ."

having boundaries most embodies the argument the author is trying to make. The author also feels by using a framework formed by a respected scholar in the field of vernacular architecture, Dr. Kingston Wm. Heath, the argument would be more relatable to the historic preservation community. While the notion of “new” vernacular forms has been previously introduced, it has not been applied to historic downtowns and has not been thoroughly researched regarding how the stakeholders involved with historic preservation, specifically in historic downtowns, respond to this framework.

UNDERSTANDING “NEW” VERNACULAR FORMS

A history of the evolution of the term and meaning of vernacular is necessary in order to make a successful argument for applying the notion of “new” vernacular forms as a theory the historic preservation field should adopt. Throughout most of the history of the field of historic preservation, the grand, nationally significant buildings and places have been preserved but the 1960s and 70s marked a change in the understanding of history, to a more inclusive understanding. Due to advocacy for more diversity in preservation, a new field of study emerged, the notion of “vernacular architecture.” The first institution to create a field of study for “vernacular” was the Vernacular Architecture Forum. The Forum began in 1980 to encourage the study of “vernacular” as defined as, “a range of structures including traditional domestic and agricultural buildings, industrial and commercial structures, twentieth-century suburban houses, settlement patterns and cultural landscapes.”¹⁷¹

The term vernacular has since been used many different ways over the years. In *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, John Brinckerhoff Jackson defines his

¹⁷¹ Vernacular Architecture Forum, “About the VAF,” accessed April 14, 2015, <http://www.vernaculararchitectureforum.org/about>.

interpretation of the history of vernacular.¹⁷² Jackson describes vernacular as beginning in the medieval ages with the notion of territoriality.¹⁷³ He argues when the Roman Empire disintegrated as a landscape and the Dark Ages took over northwestern Europe, monastic estates began and were given right to “keep the King’s Peace.” This meant the right to “domestic privacy.”¹⁷⁴ Once the idea of “domestic privacy” was established, then people began to create the tradition of a shelter that was crudely constructed of local materials, and also the dwelling of the poorest class.¹⁷⁵ This is what Jackson claims is the beginning of vernacular tradition. He does make note that vernacular still suggests this inferiority or “the substandard version of the correct.”¹⁷⁶

Interestingly, Jackson also mentions people who dwelt in the vernacular were dependent on material and social resources of their immediate environment so people spent much of the day outdoors.¹⁷⁷ This outdoor living and absence from home created a vibrant street scene for socialization, relaxation, work, exchange of goods and even competitive sports.¹⁷⁸ Jackson claims we have forgotten that streets once supplemented domestic life.¹⁷⁹ While this was in the middle ages, today Jackson claims we are seeing the trend from a strictly private, hospitality centered home to a liking for mobility and temporary use of public spaces. He saw this after World War II when a new street culture was beginning.¹⁸⁰ Jackson now states, “Our

¹⁷² John Brinckerhoff Jackson, “The Future of the Vernacular,” in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by Groth Paul and Todd W. Bressi, 145-156, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 145.

¹⁷³ Jackson, “The Future of,” 147.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 148.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 149.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 150.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 151.

social position depends less on our ability to provide hospitality than on our ability to know the nuances of life on the street.”¹⁸¹ This is an interesting idea to apply to Woodburn, because it may imply the advocates against the new culture are alluding to this sense of hospitality and think the downtown is currently inhospitable. It could also mean they are uncomfortable because they do not know or understand the nuances of life on the street. Jackson argues these spaces are created because the understanding of a “vernacular” house has changed from territoriality of showing a social class to one that spills onto the streets.

Jackson also describes “vernacular” in his book, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. He defines vernacular as a dwelling designed by a craftsman, not an architect and built with local techniques, local materials, and with the local environment in mind.¹⁸² He also emphasizes the contemporary definition of vernacular as the product of architects and architectural historians so there is little emphasis on function or relationship to work and community in the definition.¹⁸³ He notes the term itself was *defined* in the mid-nineteenth century about exploration of rural life by people dissatisfied with industrialized life and has morphed to other definitions by geographers, social historians, and archaeologists today.¹⁸⁴ He goes into greater detail later in the book, describing vernacular as deriving from the Latin *verna*, which means “a slave born in the house of his or her master.”¹⁸⁵ He states if you extend that derivative to Classical times it means a native, or “one whose existence was confined to a village or estate and who was devoted to routine work.”¹⁸⁶ This implies a specific lower working class status. He states a vernacular

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 151.

¹⁸² John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975), 85.

¹⁸³ Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular*, 85.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 149.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

culture would be a way of life ruled by tradition and custom exclusive of politics and law where identity was from membership in a group.¹⁸⁷ Jackson defines vernacular landscape as “one where evidences of a political organization of space are largely or entirely absent.”¹⁸⁸ He defines political as “spaces and structures designed to impose or preserve a unity and order on the land.”¹⁸⁹ His modern day example of features that “preserve a unity and order on the land” are the interstate highway, hydroelectric dam, airport, and power transmission lines.¹⁹⁰ These political places and their spaces Jackson argues have vernacular landscapes underneath them, governed by custom and held together by personal relationships.¹⁹¹ He states,

*We learn something about them by investigating the topographical and technological and social factors which determined their economy and their way of life, but in the long run...no landscape, vernacular or otherwise, can be comprehended...unless we ask ourselves who owns or who uses the spaces, how they were created and how they change.*¹⁹²

Many people would refute this definition today because vernacular includes a social and political aspect. Hayden mentions understanding both cultural landscapes and urban vernacular buildings as a looked-over consideration in the field of historic preservation in the past. But, even though vernacular is a more popular subject, it is still “based on physical form rather than social and political meaning.”¹⁹³

The study of vernacular architecture has had lots of scholarly publications. One is a book entitled *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 150.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Hayden, *The Power*, 11.

edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach.¹⁹⁴ “Just Folks Designing: Vernacular Designers and the Generation of Form” is one chapter in the book by Thomas Hubka that explains in greater detail the notion of “vernacular architecture.” In contrast to Jackson’s definition, the opening abstract states vernacular architecture is no longer known as the product of a “simple” people but the product of thought from intelligent human beings who knew what they wanted and had specific methods for achieving it.¹⁹⁵ Hubka emphasizes the idea that vernacular design methods are generated by tradition.¹⁹⁶ While Hubka specifically is looking at folk builders in northern New England, much of the ideas of vernacular building have shaped how vernacular architecture can be applied to a modern-day location such as downtown Woodburn.

MISCONCEPTIONS OF VERNACULAR

Hubka describes misconceptions of vernacular building design including the idea that vernacular designers just crudely copy high style or elite architecture.¹⁹⁷ Researchers fail to place human design decisions as how vernacular architecture is created.¹⁹⁸ Dolores Hayden also acknowledges the discrepancy in meaning about the term “vernacular.” One person might classify “vernacular” as a certain buildings by social use including social class or accessibility. Another person might mean “vernacular” to be a building with an unknown architect or as a specific style.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ Upton, Dell and John Michael Vlach, ed. *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1986.

¹⁹⁵ Thomas Hubka, “Just Folks Designing: Vernacular Designers and the Generation of Form,” in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 426-432, (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1986) 426.

¹⁹⁶ Hubka, “Just Folks,” 427.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Hayden, *The Power*, 4.

Hubka emphasizes vernacular architecture is found in all the world's cultures and continues today, and vernacular building usually is not articulated in drawings or written words but still has a systematic method of design attached to it.²⁰⁰ Hubka goes on to describe Henry Glassie's model for interpreting design methods of folk buildings by having a mental language of basic rules and relationships that is transformed and manipulated by the folk builder according to generative rules.²⁰¹ Hubka emphasizes vernacular designers are "not less creative than contemporary designers; they just create differently."²⁰² He states the folk designer reorders the hierarchy of ideas within the known grammar or tradition of existing structures. "In the folk system, new forms are conservatively generated out of old forms and old ideas, while in modern design practice new forms may be generated from both old and new forms and ideas."²⁰³ Hubka specifically states, "The folk design method is not a working model of form generation for modern times."²⁰⁴ Other sources would disagree with this method as exhibited later by Dr. Kingston Wm. Heath.

Another understanding of vernacular comes from Susan Garfinkel in her article "Recovering Performance for Vernacular Architecture Studies."²⁰⁵ Garfinkel uses this article to reinforce the positive aspects of the use of the word, "vernacular" because at the time she was writing, she advocated the field of vernacular architecture needed to be re-defined.²⁰⁶ She states an understanding of vernacular architecture should be rooted in "built form in use."²⁰⁷ This specifically goes beyond

²⁰⁰ Hubka, "Just Folks," 428.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 429.

²⁰² Ibid., 428.

²⁰³ Ibid., 430.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 432.

²⁰⁵ Susan Garfinkel, "Recovering Performance for Vernacular Architecture Studies," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 13. No. 2. (2006/2007), 106-114, accessed November 22, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20355387>.

²⁰⁶ Garfinkel, "Recovering Performance," 106.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

an “item-based approach” to vernacular studies.²⁰⁸ Similar to Hubka, Garfinkel also discusses Henry Glassie’s interest in creating a model of generative grammar to the way builders design buildings.²⁰⁹ Garfinkel disagrees with this analysis because she thinks a building is not the performance, but the product of performance over time.²¹⁰ She defines vernacular as something that is local, shared, and everyday or buildings are fixed in place and embody issues of locality, buildings arise from a cultural context, and vernacular buildings are not exceptional architecture.²¹¹ She argues looking at vernacular as a structure that has context through a local set of conditions that are specific, situated, and performative.²¹² She states,

*Reconfiguring our definition of vernacular architecture along these performance-based lines, while still retaining the unique object-oriented perspective...we may well find a way to move forward together as vernacular...[to] enable us to speak to a wider audience on shared terms;...[and] provide us with the means to rethink our shared political and ethical motives in more contemporary terms.*²¹³

Similar to Garfinkel, Dr. Kingston Wm. Heath understands vernacular as a regional response; response implies an action similar to Garfinkel’s performative. Vernacular not as a category but a way of “seeing.” In his book *Vernacular Architecture and Regional Design: Cultural Process and Environmental Response*, Heath argues some scholars believe the historic precedent of unaltered building types is the main component of historic architecture to study.²¹⁴ Yet, he states,

By seeking to limit our awareness of the built environment to issues of original design intent, we ignore significant insights into the current regional and

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 107.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid., 109.

²¹² Ibid., 110.

²¹³ Ibid., 112.

²¹⁴ Heath, *Vernacular Architecture*, xiv.

*subregional forces that constitute the evolving history and identity of a locale and the changing priorities of its people.*²¹⁵

Heath challenges, “change informs us about who we are as eloquently as our past deeds and accomplishments reflect who we were.”²¹⁶ He describes the main challenge with his framework is how regional or local expression can be understood as a process.²¹⁷ To answer this question Heath proposes using the term “vernacular.”

Heath’s definition, different from Jackson’s is vernacular came from the Latin root *vernaculus*, which means a “native language or dialect, especially its normal spoken form.”²¹⁸ When applied to buildings and setting Heath states vernacular means they are “regionally distinctive, regionally representative, and regionally understood.”²¹⁹ Other terms he mentions that have been used with a similar definition are cultural weathering, creolization, and hybridity.²²⁰ Heath echoes Hayden and uses this understanding of *regionalism* to explain how place emerges, “when people share an awareness of the locale, adjust to its regional circumstances, and collectively apply adaptive strategies – the regional distinctiveness of Place emerges.”²²¹

Heath lays out his vernacular forms framework by creating a structural model. This model depicts that when forces act on a particular society it prompts regional building patterns and spatial adjustments described as through the

²¹⁵ Ibid., 4.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 5.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 6.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid. Heath defines cultural weathering as the product of layers of collective change over time. Hybridity is defined as the combining of two fixed entities into a different, identifiable thing. Creolization refers to a cultural mixing to create new identities.

²²¹ Ibid.

“regional filter” on his model.²²² See Figure 3.1. Heath also talks about vernacular resources that reflect political, social, and environmentally particular forces at play in a locale.²²³ To determine what is truly local or regionally distinct, he suggests three conditions: (1) recognizing what holds meaning and embodies the cultural relevance within the community; (2) understanding the cultural revitalization of Place relies on the inclusion of the people who are a part of its community; (3) acknowledging building features and materials are not arbitrary but includes task, time, and place or preserving buildings is not enough, preserving local life ways, natural resources, and local economies are also important.²²⁴

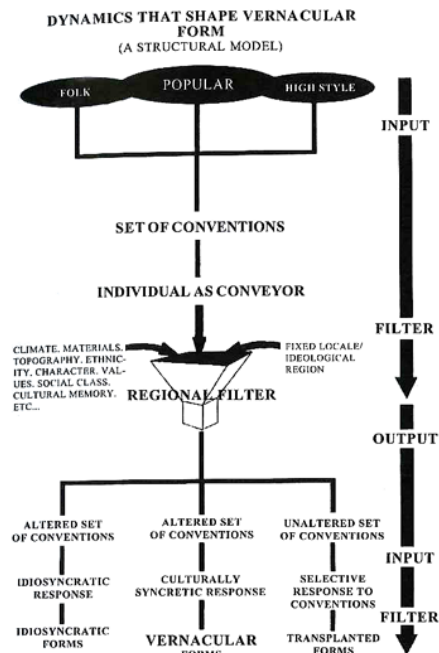


Figure 3.1. Dynamics that Shape Vernacular Form. Diagram by Dr. Kingston Wm. Heath.

In opposition to previous definitions of vernacular, Heath states, “many buildings and settings – not just those designed by non-architects – hold the same

²²² Heath, “Assessing Regional Identity,” 79.

²²³ Ibid., 10.

²²⁴ Ibid., 41.

potential of becoming vernacular expressions depending upon the degree to which they respond to the regionally specific forces acting upon them.”²²⁵ He also defines vernacular as a

*discernible and consistent variation of previous rules of thought and behavior conducted simultaneously by regional inhabitants in direct response to new or changing forces within a locale...when representative numbers of people within a region embrace aspects of a unique building response...they produce something that is...culturally syncretic. It is vernacular.*²²⁶

This specifically applies to new arrivals to a locale that change the identity of place by restructuring elements with their values. Opposing Hubka, Heath also mentions a form of stabilized vernacular or folk.²²⁷ He states when a building’s response to the cultural elements has become fully evolved and endures, it becomes folk.²²⁸ When changes in a building’s form, plan, structure, or use become *new regional realities*, they become “*new*” vernacular forms.²²⁹

WHAT VERNACULAR MEANS TO THE FIELD

In “Assessing Regional Identity Amidst Change: The Role of Vernacular Studies” Heath discusses that social anxiety is created when people focus on an idealized stated and in turn defensive, reactionary responses occur. This leads to “nationalism, sanitized heritage, and outright antagonism to newcomers.”²³⁰ These themes are seen in Woodburn through its historic preservation conflicting views. Heath states the challenge as being able to create an inclusive and dynamic cultural

²²⁵ Ibid., 10.

²²⁶ Ibid., 12-13.

²²⁷ Ibid., 15.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid., 13.

²³⁰ Kingston Wm. Heath, “Assessing Regional Identity Amidst Change: The Role of Vernacular Studies,” *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 13. No. 2. (2006/2007), 76-94, accessed November 22, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20355385>: 76.

process through regional expression.²³¹ He specifically suggests broadening the mission of historic preservation to understanding the dynamic nature of vernacular forms with regard to regionally determining forces instead of having vernacular mean a certain building type, period of construction, or type of setting.²³²

Heath mentions how the field has currently trained its professionals to be able to identify “key distinguishing features” of a structure or form. He defines this as preservation policy valuing product over process.²³³ His example is Mt. Vernon, where if the product was not preserved, a valuable national building would have been lost, yet he believes the field is at a point where it needs to “better reflect the needs and realities of the times.”²³⁴ He recommends seeing adaptive accretions not as a loss of integrity but as a “redefinition of a locale’s cultural heritage that speaks of a different record of habitation and a new collective identity of place.”²³⁵ When a contested social setting arises, preservation runs the “risk of inscribing inflexible political motivations into their heritage practices.”²³⁶ He recommends the field to address the immediate present as “one of multiple identities, current realities, and transformative states of social change” to create a sustainable, viable field of historic preservation.²³⁷

The downtown Woodburn exhibits all the elements of Heath’s “new” vernacular form structural model, including a new culturally syncretic response, the blending of the Latino culture and the Anglo culture, which is done through a altered set of conventions, or the changes to a building’s exterior decoration and changes in

²³¹ Heath, “Assessing Regional,” 76.

²³² *Ibid.*, 77.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 89.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 91.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 92.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

business operations. Yet, a deeper understanding of what goes through the “regional filter” will expand upon the conflicts that surround the “new” vernacular forms in Woodburn.

By using Heath’s three step theory on “new” vernacular forms, focusing on what creates the regional identity of a place, and applying it to Woodburn, Oregon, the conflicts inherent in understanding the local distinctiveness of Woodburn is revealed and historic buildings and their changes are explored as being “new” vernacular forms. For an illustration of the change in Woodburn’s downtown see Figures 3.2 and 3.3. The in-depth interviews conducted in Woodburn revealed how the historic preservation advocates feel about the demographic change in the downtown. This then hints at how the field can embrace the changes as a regional distinctiveness where multiple histories can be told. The information from the analysis is extrapolated into understanding how to determine if something is a “new” vernacular form and how knowing something is a “new” vernacular form can benefit historic preservation specifically within a context similar to Woodburn.



Figure 3.2. Historic Downtown Woodburn, Oregon. Date unknown. Koutny, Beverlee Jory. *Images of America: Woodburn*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012.



Figure 3.3. Historic Downtown Woodburn, Oregon, looking northeast. December 2014. Photo by Julia Larson.

CHAPTER IV

WOODBURN CONTEXT

In multiple interviews with residents of Woodburn, the term “unique” was used to describe the town of Woodburn.²³⁸ Along with all towns in America, Woodburn has a long history surrounding immigration, economics, and industry. According to Beverlee Jory Koutny, the land now known as Woodburn was once the home of Kalapuya Indians.²³⁹ By 1855, any remaining Native Americans in Oregon were relocated to the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation.²⁴⁰ The first settlers of the Woodburn area were French Canadian trappers who retired on land given to them by Dr. John McLoughlin of the Hudson’s Bay Company headquartered at Fort Vancouver.²⁴¹ One French Canadian settler, Jean B. Ducharme got a land claim in 1845 at what is now East Woodburn.²⁴² He later lost the land and it was sold at a sheriff’s sale to Jesse Settlemier.²⁴³

Settlemier became the main investor in Woodburn after taking the Oregon Trail to California with his parents, then moving to Talent, Oregon to start a nursery.²⁴⁴ He was married in 1862 and also bought Ducharme’s land in 1862. He subsequently built a farmhouse and established a nursery.²⁴⁵ Being a businessman, Settlemier had connections with railroad companies and decided to bring people to

²³⁸ Interview with historic preservation advocate 6, Woodburn, April 8, 2015; Interview with historic preservation advocate 1, Woodburn, March 4, 2015; Interview with Latino business representative 2, Woodburn, April 10, 2015.

²³⁹ Beverlee Jory Koutny, *Images of America: Woodburn*. (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), 7.

²⁴⁰ Koutny, *Images*, 7.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 13.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 13-14.

work in his nursery. He decided to attract a railroad and people by subsidizing a town.²⁴⁶ He gave away 50-foot-by-100-foot lots to people who would move to his city. He also donated land for a train depot and school.²⁴⁷ He purchased and gave 50 acres of land to the Oregon Electric Railroad to build west of Woodburn and 35 acres to the Oregon and California Railroad (later Southern Pacific) to go through downtown. Woodburn was officially established in 1871.²⁴⁸

Along with the railroad came immigrant workers, specifically Chinese workers because they were efficient and cheap.²⁴⁹ They set up businesses on Front Street in Woodburn, including laundries and teashops.²⁵⁰ See Figure 4.1. Woodburn was incorporated in 1889 after the establishment of the railroad.²⁵¹

Settlemyer's nursery business flourished due to the railroad transportation becoming the largest nursery in the Northwest by 1892.²⁵² Woodburn became a popular town in the area as noted by Father Levosque of Woodburn,

*Woodburn is undergoing a great natural boom. "Probably 50 buildings are now under construction," said he, "and if we had 100 dwelling houses ready for occupancy they would be filled tomorrow. Most of the people coming in are from the east, and are a very desirable class of immigrants. Woodburn is alive, let me tell you," and he spoke as if he meant every word of it.*²⁵³

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 14.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 19 and *Weekly Enterprise*, Clackamas County, (September 8, 1871), "A new town has been laid out by Mr. J. H. Settlemyer, seventeen miles north of Salem, called Woodburn. Its located on the railroad," accessed April 15, 2015, <http://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/>.

²⁴⁹ Koutny, *Images*, 26.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 31.

²⁵² Ibid., 19.

²⁵³ *Daily Capitol*, "Woodburn Booming," (Salem, Oregon, Wednesday, May 30, 1906), accessed April 15, 2015, <http://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/>.

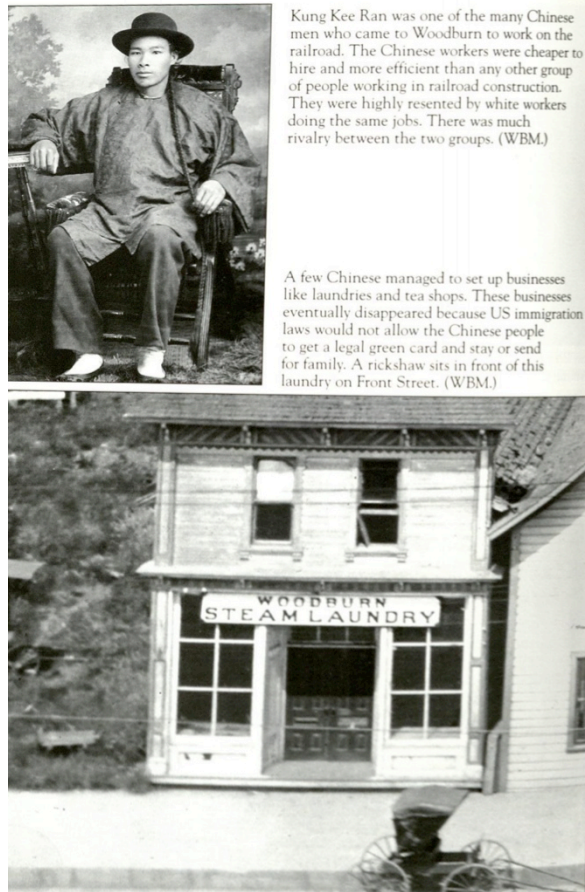


Figure 4.1. Chinese immigrant and Chinese steam laundry business in Woodburn, Oregon. Date unknown. Koutny, Beverlee Jory. *Images of America: Woodburn*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012.

As automobile travel rose in the area, Pacific Highway 99E was built to travel from Portland to the California border. It was completed in 1923.²⁵⁴ Along the highway sprouted transportation-related businesses including gas stations, car parts businesses, and auto parks.²⁵⁵ An arch over Highway 99E was also constructed proclaiming Woodburn as the “World’s Berry Center.” It was there from 1923 to 1933 and now resides in Woodburn’s downtown as part of the city museum.²⁵⁶ See Figure 4.2.

²⁵⁴ Koutny, *Images*, 19.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.



Figure 4.2. Woodburn’s “World’s Berry Center” Arch on the façade of the Woodburn Museum in downtown Woodburn, Oregon. December 2014. Photo by Julia Larson.

Woodburn, along with every city in America is a city of changing demographics. After initial settlement in the late 19th century, there were other waves of immigrants that came in and out of the city. These included the Russian Old Believers and the Mexican Immigrants during WWII. From 1942 to 1947, the Emergency Farm Labor Supply Program or Bracero Program recruited Mexican laborers to work the fields during annual harvests when other farm labor had entered the U.S. Armed Forces.²⁵⁷ This instigated a large wave of Mexican immigrants to Woodburn.²⁵⁸ Initially, Mexican workers returned to their homes after harvest season. After World War II, the Mexican laborers started to settle in Woodburn because they found housing and ample work.²⁵⁹ Starting in the 1950s,

²⁵⁷ Herrera, “Latino Small-Town,” 3.

²⁵⁸ Stephen Lynn, “The Story of PCUN and the Farmworker Movement in Oregon,” (Eugene, Oregon: Center for Latino/a and Latin American Studies (CLLAS), 2012).

²⁵⁹ Herrera, “Latino Small-Town,” and Koutny, *Images*, 89.

Texas based migrant families also migrated to Oregon.²⁶⁰ Roanel Herrera describes the history of Mexican immigrants in Oregon as beginning in the 1850s when Mexico's new borders were established.²⁶¹ He states Mexicans were hired as cowboys and mule backers up through the 1860s.²⁶² In the first decades of the 20th century, Mexicans were hired as part of the agricultural labor force and building railroads.²⁶³ During the 1970 and 1980s immigrants from Oaxaca, Mexico were actively recruited and settled in the Willamette Valley.²⁶⁴

In 1960, an investor bought land to build affordable homes for retirees in Woodburn. Initially the Senior Estates Golf and Country Club included 1,000 small homes for people over age 55, country club, swimming pool, newspaper, and 18-hole golf course.²⁶⁵ Today, the estates include 1,500 homes, and continue to be an large and important population in Woodburn.²⁶⁶

The Russian Old Believers came to Woodburn around 1965.²⁶⁷ Russian Orthodox Church members refused to participate in the Russian church reforms of the middle 17th century and wanted to preserve their previous ways.²⁶⁸ Woodburn, OR consists of three separate Old Believer groups. Two groups moved to China from Siberia in opposition to the Socialist Revolution of 1917 and a third group settled in

²⁶⁰ Herrera, "Latino Small-Town," 3.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 2.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 3.

²⁶⁵ Koutny, *Images*, 103.

²⁶⁶ Woodburn Estates & Golf., accessed April 15, 2015, <http://woodburnestatesgolf.com/>.

²⁶⁷ Koutny, *Images*, 89.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

Turkey during the eighteenth century.²⁶⁹ When Communist groups came to power in China in 1948-49, the two groups moved to Brazil and Argentina, but famine conditions forced them to move again, to Oregon.²⁷⁰ The Turkish group was resettled to America with aid from Attorney General Robert Kennedy with some of them moving to Oregon in 1967.²⁷¹ In 1981, an estimated 5,000 Russian Old Believers lived in Oregon in Woodburn, Mt. Angel, and Gervais.²⁷² See Figure 4.3 for Russian Old Believer worship space in Woodburn.



Figure 4.3. Russian Old Believer place of worship. Woodburn, Oregon. March, 2015. Photo by Julia Larson.

²⁶⁹ Ron Peterson and Margaret Hixon, "Teacher Guide for Old Believers," (July 1981), accessed April 15, 2015, <http://www.folkstreams.net/context,292>.

²⁷⁰ Peterson and Hixon, "Teacher Guide for Old Believers."

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Ibid.

WOODBURN GENERAL HISTORIC PRESERVATION TIMELINE

Woodburn has an interesting history from its inception with Jesse Settlemier. This section focuses on more recent history in Woodburn and how historic preservation efforts are embodied in the downtown.

1970s-80s – Highway 99 gained popularity, moving businesses out of the downtown area to the more desirable area along the highway. López also states strip malls opened on Highway 99 in the 1980s and businesses moved there because they could occupy a newer building and not deal with drugs and prostitution.²⁷³

1982 – Woodburn Downtown Association started.²⁷⁴ “The Woodburn Downtown Association’s mission is to create a world-class rural downtown that promotes a prosperous and vibrant economy where equity is at the center of our vitality and investment.”²⁷⁵

1990s – Latino businesses moved into the downtown’s vacant buildings.²⁷⁶

1992 – Wal-Mart was built next to Interstate 5.²⁷⁷ This meant the specialized downtown businesses that were already struggling went out of business such as the fabric store and TV repair guy.

March 25, 1993 – Spring Break earthquake magnitude 5.6.²⁷⁸ The Association Building in Downtown Woodburn partly collapsed and was later re-built. The structural soundness of other structures downtown is unknown.

²⁷³ Monique G. López, “Placemaking, Identity, & Power: (Re)Negotiating Space in Downtown Woodburn,” Terminal Project, Department of Planning, Public Policy & Management, University of Oregon, (June 2012): 13.

²⁷⁴ “Woodburn Downtown Association,” accessed May 3, 2015, https://www.facebook.com/WoodburnDowntownAssociation/info?tab=page_info.

²⁷⁵ Interview with Latino business representative 2, Woodburn, April 10, 2015.

²⁷⁶ López, “Placemaking, Identity,” 13.

²⁷⁷ Lise Nelson, “Racialized Landscapes: Whiteness and the Struggle over Farmworker Housing in Woodburn, Oregon,” *Cultural Geographies*, Vol. 15. No. 1, (2008), 41-62, accessed on November 23, 2014, <http://cgj.sagepub.com/content/15/1/41.full.pdf+html>, 48.

²⁷⁸ Ian Madin, George Priest, and Matthew Mabey, (Oregon Dept. of Geology and Mineral Industries); Steve Malone (Univ. of Washington Seismology Lab); Tom Yelin (USGS); Dan Meier (Woodward Clyde Consultants); and William Elliot (Portland Water Bureau), “The March 25, 1993, Scotts Mills Earthquake – Western Oregon’s Wake-Up Call,” EERI Special Earthquake Report (May 1993), accessed April 15, 2015, https://www.eeri.org/lfe/pdf/USA_OR_ScottsMills_Insert_May93.pdf.

2001 – Woodburn City Council passed Ordinance 2298 adopting the Woodburn Urban Renewal Plan.²⁷⁹

2004-2005 – Woodburn Historic Neighborhoods Association started.²⁸⁰ The association was started because residents of the neighborhood surrounding the downtown felt there needed to be more guidelines as to what types of aesthetic changes can be done to historic buildings, specifically historic houses.²⁸¹

Mid-2000s – López states a variety of Mexican businesses such as grocery stores, bakeries, clothing stores, and hair salons were present in downtown.²⁸²

2005- The Latin-American-styled plaza in the heart of downtown was inaugurated through the urban renewal initiative.²⁸³

2010 – Most updated version of Woodburn Downtown Development Plan. The plan was originally conducted in 1998.²⁸⁴

WOODBURN'S HISTORIC PRESERVATION HISTORY

Along with the timeline stated above, the downtown area has a few buildings on the National Register of Historic Places. The National Register generally honors properties that are old enough to be considered historic (generally at least 50 years old) and look much the way they did in the past. It also must have significance including association with events, activities, or developments that were important in the past, with the lives of people who were important in the past, with significant architectural history, landscape history, or engineering achievements, or having the

²⁷⁹ López, "Placemaking, Identity," 12.

²⁸⁰ Interview with historic preservation advocate 5, Woodburn, April 5, 2015. & "Historic Woodburn Neighborhoods Association," accessed May 3, 2015, <https://sites.google.com/site/historicwoodburn/home>.

²⁸¹ Interview with historic preservation advocate 5, Woodburn, April 5, 2015.

²⁸² López, "Placemaking, Identity," 14.

²⁸³ Nelson, "Racialized Landscapes," 56.

²⁸⁴ City of Woodburn, "Woodburn Downtown Development Plan Update," (January 2010,) accessed on November 22, 2014, file:///Users/juliaengel/Desktop/Fall%202014%20Classes/Thesis%20Class/Resources/Exhibit%20A%20Downtown%20Development%20Plan%20Update_01-2010.pdf.

potential to yield information through archeological investigation about our past.²⁸⁵ The two buildings on the National Register are the Bank of Woodburn²⁸⁶ and Woodburn Old City Hall.²⁸⁷ See Figures 4.4. and 4.5.



Figure 4.4. Bank of Woodburn, looking southwest. Woodburn, Oregon. December, 2015. Photo by Julia Larson.

²⁸⁵ National Park Service, "National Register of Historic Places: Fundamentals," accessed February 20, 2015, http://www.nps.gov/nr/national_register_fundamentals.htm.

²⁸⁶ Nora Fives, "Bank of Woodburn," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, (July 30, 1995, added to the National Registry: September 1996), accessed May 4, 2015. <http://heritagedata.prd.state.or.us/historic/>.

²⁸⁷ David Duniway, "Woodburn Old City Hall," National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, (November 1978, added to the National Registry: March 1979), accessed May 4, 2015, <http://heritagedata.prd.state.or.us/historic/>.



Figure 4.5. Woodburn Old City Hall, looking northeast. Woodburn, Oregon. December, 2015. Photo by Julia Larson.

The downtown is part of a local historic district called Old Town.

*Old Town is bounded by Oak and Harrison Streets and by Front to mid-block between Second and Third Streets...The subarea features an eclectic mix of development and architectural styles, including historic buildings and residences, commercial and industrial buildings, and a small cluster of civic uses. The current downtown businesses are small and most are Latino owned and operated.*²⁸⁸

The downtown or Old Town is also part of an Urban Renewal Area for the city of Woodburn. See Figure 4.6. This means the area is part of the urban renewal program in Oregon to help cities invest in public upgrades to their city.²⁸⁹

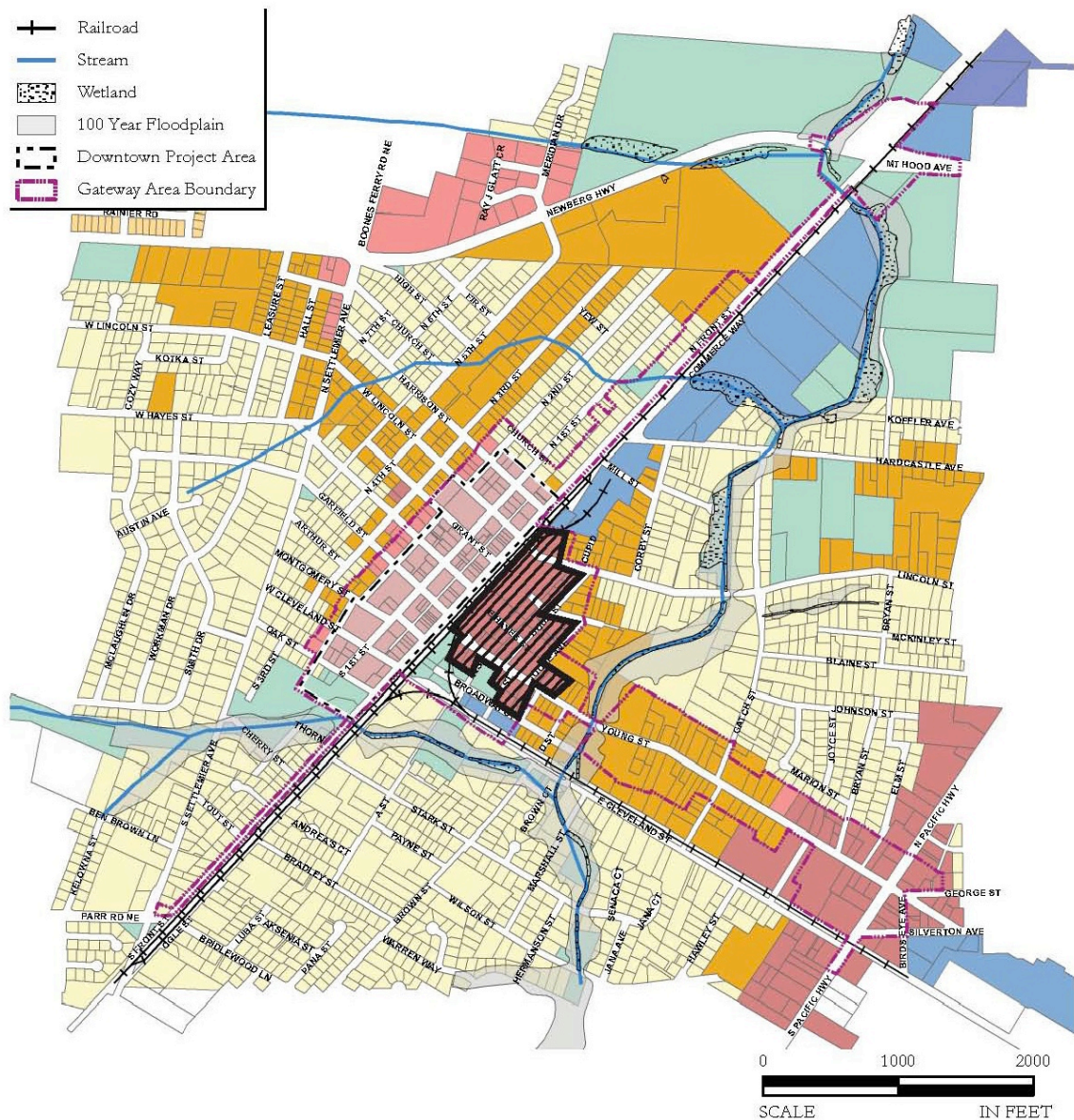
Woodburn also offers an Urban Renewal Grant & Loan Program, which provides matching funds for exterior improvements up to \$10,000 and interior improvements up to \$5,000.²⁹⁰ Woodburn provides large renovation grants of up to \$50,000, matching an applicant's private investment in the project.²⁹¹ All of these funding options can be and have been applied to the historic buildings in the downtown area to maintain and reinforce their structure.

²⁸⁸ City of Woodburn, "Woodburn Downtown," 1, 6.

²⁸⁹ City of Woodburn, "Urban Renewal," accessed May 4, 2015, http://www.ci.woodburn.or.us/?q=urban_renewal.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ibid.



City of Woodburn

Downtown Development Plan Update

Zoning Designations

- RS - Single Family Residential
- R1S - Retirement Community Single Family Residential
- RM - Medium Density Residential
- DDC - Downtown Development and Conservation
- Gateway Subdistrict

- CG - Commercial General
- CO - Commercial Office
- IL - Light Industrial
- IP - Industrial Park
- P/SP - Public and Semi-Public



Association with:
Leland Consulting Group
Kittelson & Associates

April 2009

Figure 4.6. City of Woodburn Downtown Development Plan Map. Woodburn, Oregon. City of Woodburn. "Woodburn Downtown Development Plan Update." January 2010.

WOODBURN TODAY

The current population in downtown Woodburn is predominantly Latino. Woodburn, today, has a population of roughly 24,000 people. Of these, 58.9% considered themselves Hispanic or Latino in 2010.²⁹² One way this population has established a placemaking opportunity in Woodburn is the Fiesta Mexicana which lasts several days and includes traditional foods and dance from Mexico.²⁹³ The first festival was held in 1962.²⁹⁴

Three academic analyses have recently occurred with the changing demographics in Woodburn as a focal point. The first is a 2012 in-depth study entitled “Latino Small Businesses and Downtown Development” by the Community Planning Workshop.²⁹⁵ The goal of the report was to provide opportunities outlining how the city of Woodburn, its organizations and community can better support Latino businesses.²⁹⁶ The report starts by explaining Latino small businesses are “contributing to the economic activity and vitality of downtowns, through entrepreneurship, reinvestment in disinvested space, and drawing a regional customer base.”²⁹⁷ Another report that specifically looks at historic preservation in Woodburn was done in 2012 by Monique López entitled, “Placemaking, Identity, & Power: (Re)Negotiating Space in Downtown Woodburn.”²⁹⁸ She is interested in Woodburn because she describes issues in Woodburn as being deeper than other

²⁹² U. S. Census Bureau, Woodburn, Oregon. Quickfacts, 2013 estimate, accessed November 30, 2014 from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/41/4183750.html>.

²⁹³ Koutny, *Images*, 98-99.

²⁹⁴ City of Woodburn, “Woodburn Fiesta Mexicana,” accessed April 15, 2015, <http://www.ci.woodburn.or.us/?q=node/392>.

²⁹⁵ Community Planning Workshop: A Program of the Community Service Center, “Latino Small Business and Downtown Development,” prepared for University of Oregon Economic Development Administration Center, (December 2012).

²⁹⁶ Community Planning Workshop, “Latino Small,” 1.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁹⁸ López, “Placemaking, Identity.”

communities. According to López, the “contradiction between the exclusion and yet majority is more profound than other locales.”²⁹⁹ López, states the downtown of Woodburn has undergone a transformation in the past 20-30 years including disinvestment, yet also reinvestment by the City through an Urban Renewal district and Mexican entrepreneurs.³⁰⁰ She sees a “cultural transformation downtown that can be seen in the colors of the buildings, signage on the facades, and installation of a plaza.”³⁰¹ The final analysis used is Lise Nelson’s article, “Racialized landscapes: whiteness and the struggle over farmworker housing in Woodburn, Oregon,” which maps the “whiteness” in Woodburn and what that means in terms of spatial metaphors and practices.³⁰²

While the history of Woodburn is rich with changing demographics and a historical narrative, interviews with historic preservation advocates reveal biases of favoring a white, Anglo history over the history of the Latino population. The context of Woodburn’s history sets the stage for analyzing qualitative data from personal interviews to understand if Woodburn fits in the context of a “new” vernacular form.

²⁹⁹ López, “Placemaking, Identity,” 7.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 12.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Nelson, “Racialized Landscapes,” 41.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS

This chapter presents an analysis of qualitative data collected through 11 in-depth interviews within the city of Woodburn. The interviews conducted included seven historic preservation advocates all of whom are white, or Anglo ethnicity and roughly ages 50 and older. One city official and three Latino business representatives were also interviewed with varying levels of historic preservation advocacy, but all seemed to value the history of Woodburn.³⁰³ The data from interview questions is analyzed through Dr. Kingston Wm. Heath's theory of local distinctiveness and "new" vernacular forms applied to Woodburn. The goal of this research is to understand how historic preservation advocates perceive, negotiate, and value changes made to historic fabric due to changing demographics. By acknowledging Woodburn is an example of a "new" vernacular form and understanding the conflicts surrounding this notion, the analysis explores how the community of Woodburn can negotiate its regional dynamics to create a local distinctiveness, which includes a many-layered historical narrative.

This negotiation is done through Heath's three steps when determining truth to locality to create what is a "new" vernacular form; (1) recognizing what holds meaning and embodies the cultural relevance within the community; (2) understanding the cultural revitalization of Place relies on the inclusion of the people who are a part of its community; (3) acknowledging building features and materials are not arbitrary but includes task, time, and place or preserving buildings is not enough, preserving local life ways, natural resources, and local economies are also important.³⁰⁴ These steps reveal conflicts within the historic preservation field

³⁰³ Interview with city official 1, Woodburn, March 9, 2015; Interview with Latino business representative 1, Woodburn, April 8, 2015; Interview with Latino business representative 2, Woodburn, April 10, 2015; Interview with Latino business representative 3, Woodburn, April 13, 2015.

³⁰⁴ Heath, *Vernacular Architecture*, 41.

in Woodburn. Within these headings will be the presentation of the data collected, the interviewee answers, the analysis or how the *preservation field* relates to the conflicts in Woodburn, and finally a presentation of the outcome of these local conflicts in relation to the preservation field as a whole.

STEP I. RECOGNIZING WHAT HOLDS MEANING AND EMBODIES THE CULTURAL RELEVANCE WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

As noted earlier, Woodburn, Oregon has many layers of history and determining what holds meaning within the historic preservation community reveals conflicting views. For this study, cultural relevance is defined as, “ideas that are operational within a region to meet the particular needs [of the culture].”³⁰⁵ The conflicting views of cultural relevance in Woodburn were revealed through understanding how the historic preservation advocates define historic preservation, the historic preservation advocate’s view of “beauty” within the downtown, and how advocates felt about the notion of feeling “welcome” in the downtown environment.

Data 1: Definition of Historic Preservation

In total, three main definitions of historic preservation emerged from the interviews in Woodburn. First, the majority of white, Anglo historic preservation advocates in Woodburn define historic preservation as going back to a build date.³⁰⁶ One quote included, “Buildings should stay true to their build date, anything else done to that is untrue and distracting.”³⁰⁷ Another stated, “Build date or original

³⁰⁵ Heath, “Assessing Regional,” 93.

³⁰⁶ Interview with historic preservation advocate 1, Woodburn, March 4, 2015; Interview with historic preservation advocate 3, Woodburn, March 19, 2015; Interview with historic preservation advocate 5, Woodburn, April 5, 2015; Interview with historic preservation advocate 7, Woodburn, March 19, 2015.

³⁰⁷ Interview with historic preservation advocate 3, Woodburn, March 19, 2015.

character.”³⁰⁸ This implies the majority of white, Anglo historic preservation advocates agree what is relevant culturally within the community is the notion of restoring a building to its original build date.

The second most popular definition was a flexible understanding of historic preservation where the interviewee was not exactly sure how to have one definition of historic preservation. Historic preservation advocate 2 stated they used to think what was “old and looked cool” was worth preserving, now they believe Woodburn needs to make-do with the buildings they have. “We should not adapt property to our needs, but adapt our needs to the property.”³⁰⁹ Historic preservation advocate 4 stated, “Well, historic preservation is to restore the building to its original character but that’s not always practical or the building is not worthy of it. Maybe it’s not historically significant.” A conflict arises here because no current definition exists within the historic preservation field of how to understand this idea of preservation as having a changing significance or trying to understand changing a building to suit the “building’s needs.”

The third most common definition was preservation as the maintenance of a building. This included a viewpoint from the city official, stating, “If we preserve whatever properties we have in whatever state they are in, historically right now, then it is the best thing.”³¹⁰ Latino business representative 2 also echoed this sentiment saying historic preservation is “basically, trying to keep framework, infrastructure of the building in its historic state. Just the building... literally bricks.”³¹¹ This definition implies the city official and Latino representative do not see a certain time period for preservation but still value the original built fabric or structure as being the most historically significant.

³⁰⁸ Interview with historic preservation advocate 7, Woodburn, March 19, 2015.

³⁰⁹ Interview with historic preservation advocate 2, Woodburn, March 4, 2015.

³¹⁰ Interview with city official 1, Woodburn, March 9, 2015.

³¹¹ Interview with Latino business representative 2, Woodburn, April 10, 2015.

These definitions of historic preservation have a long-rooted history within the historic preservation field. The notion of a building's most historic period to be when it was built is one of the main arguments for defining a "period of significance" when applying for a building to be on the National Register of Historic Places.³¹² This is also the goal of restoration efforts, to restore a building to the historic character from which it was built. Woodburn's historic preservation advocates are also influenced by the field-defined rule of a "period of significance" as being the original design intent, original materials, and original "look" as being what defines the cultural importance of a building in the downtown.

As noted in the literature review, the 50-year rule is one of the criteria for a property to be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.³¹³ While Woodburn's buildings are over 50 years of age, most of them from the late 1800s and early 1900s, this rule still clouds how the advocates define historic preservation. Two interviewees specifically stated, even buildings from the 50s and 60s are "historic" because they are now turning 50 years old.³¹⁴ With 50 years in mind as being the date to go back to for buildings to even start being "historic" the advocates are erasing two generations of changes to the buildings.

Data 2: Definition of "Beauty" in Woodburn's Historic Downtown

Another way to understand what holds meaning and embodies cultural relevance was revealed when interviewees were asked what they thought would aid in historic preservation efforts in the downtown. The majority of white, Anglo advocates who responded mentioned the beauty, tastefulness, or cleanliness of the downtown. They did not think the downtown was "beautiful" or exhibited what

³¹² O'Donnell, "Research and National Register Form."

³¹³ Patrick W. Andrus, "National Register Criteria."

³¹⁴ Interview with city official 1, Woodburn, March 9, 2015; Interview with historic preservation advocate 3, Woodburn, March 19, 2015.

they defined as a “beautiful old downtown.” Historic preservation advocate 3, who has lived in Woodburn their whole life, stated they would like to see all buildings “done really well” with the downtown “sparkling clean...streets clean, and landscaping done well.” Advocate 3 also stated growing up, the downtown had less litter and gum on the streets, the storefronts were clean, and everyone had pride in the ownership of buildings and businesses.³¹⁵

Advocate 4 stated they wanted to see downtown Woodburn “beautiful.” When asked what “beautiful” meant, the interviewee stated, “kept-up & appreciated...businesses that are successful.” They also later stated ideally, buildings would be cleaned up and maintained and when repaired, done in a “tasteful” manner including compatibility with and input from adjacent owners.³¹⁶ Advocate 4 thinks some business owners do not think historic preservation is a priority, but “historic preservation has a lot to do with making the business area a pleasant place to come to and people like to see a clean, well-kept business area.”³¹⁷

These notions of cleanliness are an interesting way to understand what is culturally relevant. As mentioned in the literature review by Jackson, the advocates feel the downtown is “inhospitable” and may not know what is going on downtown and thus feel businesses are unsuccessful and dirty.

Advocate 6 stated, just keeping the downtown clean including windows clean of signs that are had written so they can see inside would aid in the historic preservation of Woodburn.³¹⁸ Later, they described Woodburn visually as a low-end, trashy, blue-collar town from an outsiders view.³¹⁹

³¹⁵ Interview with historic preservation advocate 3, Woodburn, March 19, 2015.

³¹⁶ Interview with historic preservation advocate 4, Woodburn, April 3, 2015.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Interview with historic preservation advocate 6, Woodburn, April 8, 2015.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

These understandings of beauty, tasteful, and cleanliness are important because they show current historic preservation advocates applying their own personal perceptions, beliefs, and life experiences to the downtown. While these notions of cleanliness and beauty and their importance to the success of historic preservation downtown are subjective, they still embody a cultural idea within the historic preservation advocates. Interestingly, even in historic photos, the downtown was never “sparkling clean” from when the railroad came when the town had dirt roads to the 50s and 60s era of lots of cluttered signage. See Figures 5.1., 5.2., and 5.3. Yet, this understanding shows the advocates have a cultural idea and norm surrounding what they view as an appropriate downtown, whether real or concocted from “rose colored glasses,” which is part of the historical definition of the downtown. This illustrates that while these notions might be culturally relevant to the historic preservation advocates, it may be the perfect area for negotiation when deciphering the regional dynamics of the downtown.

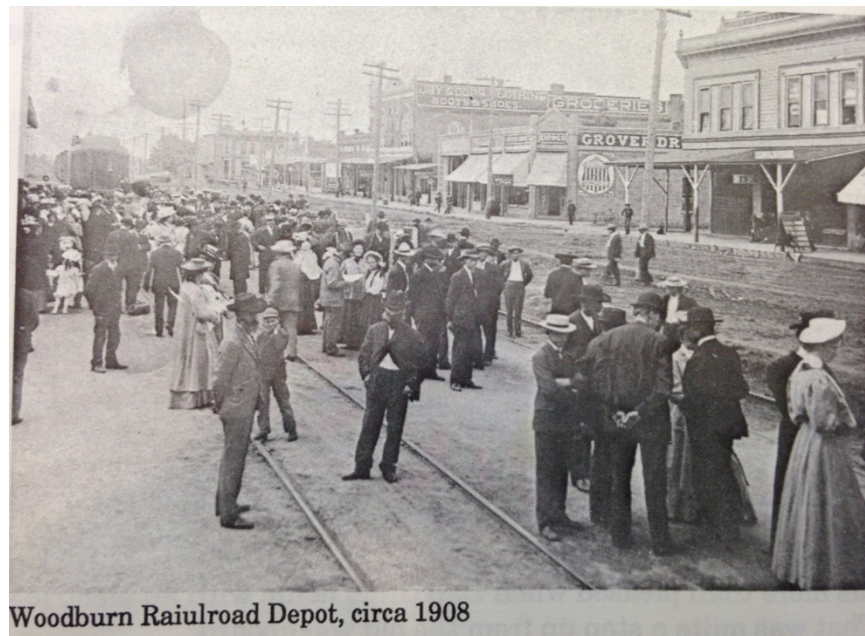


Figure 5.1. Downtown Front Street looking southwest Woodburn, Oregon. Circa 1908. Koutny, Beverlee Jory. *Images of America: Woodburn*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012.



M&F Grocery replaced Safeway in downtown Woodburn when Safeway closed its doors in 1942. Most businesses had small storefronts and long, narrow rooms inside. It was the era before superstores, and one would shop at the bakery, at the meat market, and at the fruit and vegetable shop. Later, grocery stores expanded to include all departments under one roof. (WBM.)

Figure 5.2. Downtown Front Street looking southwest Woodburn, Oregon. Date unknown. Koutny, Beverlee Jory. *Images of America: Woodburn*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012.



Figure 5.3. Downtown Woodburn on Front Street facing southwest. Woodburn, Oregon. April 2015. Photo by Julia Larson

These notions of beauty and cleanliness also relate to the historic preservation's long-time emphasis on elite, architect-designed, nationally significant architecture. Lee and Stipe remind the audience, historic preservation has long been viewed as protection of architectural landmarks³²⁰ and many people feel the preservation philosophy is too narrowly focused on architecture as its dominant value.³²¹ Preservation started with preserving nationally significant sites, focusing on elite architecture such as president residences or architecture designed by notable architects. This type of elitist mind-set seems to still be employed in Woodburn because the advocates feel the downtown needs to fit their definition of "beautiful" which is their Anglo, mainstream, dominant culture's understanding of clean, leaving little room for the Latino cultural influence.

Data 3: "Not Welcoming"

Along with beauty and tastefulness comes the notion the downtown is "not welcoming." Historic preservation advocates mentioned this mostly as a road block to the success of the businesses downtown, and thus the success of historic preservation efforts. If historic preservation is defined as returning a building to its build date, then what is being stated is if a downtown does not conform to having the historic preservation advocates definition of historic, then it is "not welcoming." White historic preservation advocates are not "scared" to go downtown, they do not feel welcome through their cultural definition of "welcome." This implies a societal understanding of "welcome," which could apply to the white cultural understanding.

Historic preservation advocate 1 thinks the Hispanic population downtown, "doesn't want anyone coming down here." They stated, "I don't like the idea of stores that don't want me in there...I don't want to buy and I don't speak Spanish."³²² Advocate 6 agreed stating, they only go to a couple businesses

³²⁰ Lee, "From Historic Architecture," 15.

³²¹ Stipe, "Where Do We," 461.

³²² Interview with historic preservation advocate 1, Woodburn, March 4, 2015.

downtown including restaurants and the ice cream store because, “those businesses assimilate.” Others do not include English speakers.³²³ When asked why the advocate thought the downtown businesses were not welcoming, they said, “if they have illegals coming [into their business] they’d be intimidated and that’s a major part of their business and they are afraid Anglos will chase them away.” Historic preservation advocate 7 specifically mentioned not having anything they want to buy in the downtown as the reason they think it is not welcoming.³²⁴

These views of the downtown as “not welcoming” are culturally relevant because the historic preservation field in Woodburn feels tension about pursuing efforts due to this notion of being “unwelcomed.” In order for the notion of a “new” vernacular form to be embodied in the historic downtown of Woodburn, all people, including the white, Anglo historic preservation advocates will need to feel welcome.

The historic preservation field is limited in its scope because it has not addressed the complex issues surrounding different cultures’ understandings of community and creating a welcoming environment. As noted by Kaufman, the preservation field defines professional competence in rather narrow terms that does not include emotional and socially complex issues.³²⁵ Hayden also discusses the notion of “vernacular” as gaining momentum within the historic preservation field but, it is still “based on physical form rather than social and political meaning.”³²⁶

³²³ Interview with historic preservation advocate 6, Woodburn, April 8, 2015.

³²⁴ Interview with historic preservation advocate 7, Woodburn, March 19, 2015.

³²⁵ Kaufman, “Moving Forward,” 314.

³²⁶ Hayden, *The Power*, 11.

Outcome of Cultural Relevance Understanding in Woodburn

As seen in Woodburn, because of the “rules” of attachment to a building’s build date as the definition of “historic preservation,” and emphasis on a dominant cultural view of emphasizing elite, beautiful architecture, the historic preservation field shows the different cultural dynamics within Woodburn are disappearing. The cultural relevance in Woodburn, and field should become more flexible when understanding history. As Lanier argues, perceptions and identity shape the understanding of cultural relevance today including what gains and loses meaning. In Woodburn, historic preservation advocates do not prominently embrace this “reflexive aspect.”³²⁷ In order to create “layers” of history within the downtown, historic preservation advocates should reconsider what holds cultural relevance to the multiple cultures in Woodburn.

The historic preservation advocates and historic preservation field also exhibit a lack of complexity when it comes to understanding what holds meaning and embodies cultural relevance within a community. As Heath mentions, when a social setting arises, preservation runs the “risk of inscribing inflexible political motivations into their heritage practices.”³²⁸ By addressing the immediate present as “one of multiple identities, current realities, and transformative states of social change,” the field will be better equipped to create a sustainable, viable field of historic preservation.³²⁹

STEP II. UNDERSTANDING THE CULTURAL REVITALIZATION OF PLACE RELIES ON THE INCLUSION OF THE PEOPLE WHO ARE PART OF ITS COMMUNITY

Step 2 in defining local distinctiveness in Woodburn, is understanding cultural revitalization of place relies on the inclusion of people who are part of its

³²⁷ Lanier, *The Delaware Valley*, xiii.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Ibid.

community. The downtown of Woodburn needs a “cultural revitalization.” This means all the communities within Woodburn including historic preservation advocates need to learn how to comprehend and negotiate new cultural influences within the community. To understand the influences that affect this comprehension, this section is divided in two, the notion of assimilation in Woodburn, and the city as a whole’s view on the long-term affect of the cultural transition. This will help form a narrative surrounding the history of demographic changes in Woodburn.

Data 1: Assimilation

Interviewees in Woodburn mentioned the transition of the downtown to Latino-owned businesses as both positive, because it kept the local economy going, and negative because it changed the historic businesses and aesthetics of the downtown. Some interviewees felt the Latino population downtown needed to “assimilate” more to the dominant Anglo culture because it would attract more business, increasing investment in the downtown, thus increasing the downtown’s “beauty.”

The history of the transition to Latino businesses downtown relates to the way historic preservation advocates address cultural revitalization in the downtown. Historic preservation advocate 2 has lived in Woodburn 27 years and attributed the change from the “traditional” businesses downtown such as a TV repair guy, jewelry store, and fabrics store to the establishment of Highway 99, just east of Woodburn.³³⁰ They claimed strip mall development in the 1970s, including the Safeway leaving downtown to Highway 99 and office park development, to the initial vacancy of buildings downtown. After Wal-Mart was built in 1993, the downtown became the low rent district and thus became attractive to new

³³⁰ Interview with historic preservation advocate 2, Woodburn, March 4, 2015.

businesses.³³¹ The demographic looking to start new businesses were Latino businessmen.³³² Advocate 2 stated, today downtown is a “big business incubator.”³³³

Historic preservation advocate 3 was born and raised in Woodburn and stated when the by-pass (Highway 214) was built, it sucked traffic out of downtown and the businesses moved out too. This caused “blight in downtown,” defined as vacant buildings.³³⁴ They stated it presented an opportunity for new people, which amounted to the Hispanic population opening businesses. This changed the downtown to a more Spanish influence. They think the businesses are successful, including giving Woodburn something “different.”³³⁵ Historic preservation advocate 4 who has also lived in Woodburn since 1970 stated big box stores were a favorite and people wanted to be in malls so downtown businesses moved to Highway 99.³³⁶ They claimed more occupants moved downtown because of cheap rent and “Woodburn was the Hispanic capitol of farm laborers so people came. The need was here and they were welcomed so they stayed.”³³⁷

These statements have the tone of a double-edged sword or show the advocates are dealing with an internal conflict. Because they know the Latino businesses are helping the downtown succeed, they do not have a justification for removing the population, yet they feel their lifestyles and value of going to specialty stores downtown are not being met. This is also seen in the literature of historic preservation with authors stating historic preservation needs to be more inclusive of non-Anglo histories. This notion began in the 1960s and 70s with the “new social

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Interview with historic preservation advocate 3, Woodburn, March 19, 2015.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Interview with historic preservation advocate 4, Woodburn, April 3, 2015.

³³⁷ Ibid.

history” movement, yet the field has done little to put this notion into practice.³³⁸ Where the National Park Service and National Trust have started diversity programs, the local preservation organizations struggle with where to even begin when understanding how they can preserve the historic character of a building and embrace a new culture that is also benefitting the community.³³⁹

Besides the internal conflict the historic preservation advocates are dealing with, they also have an external conflict relating to how society defines new immigrant populations. This is the inclusion of demographics currently excluded from the field of historic preservation planning and design. Politics are inevitably a part of how historic preservation advocates negotiate spaces downtown. One advocate stated,

*We should deal with illegal immigration. People have been here a long time, its our fault, no other country would allow them to take advantage of services. We have our own people, citizens who are starving, who need medical care and on and on and on and they need services and yet it's going to illegals.*³⁴⁰

This notion of immigration and “illegals” creates a basis for division between the white historic preservation advocates and the Latino businesses. This type of political divide is tough to ignore or overcome when understanding the historic preservation efforts in downtown Woodburn because they are a cultural understanding within the historic preservation community. The conflict arises because even though some advocates, such as advocate 5, view immigrants as a “burden” to the downtown and community, the same advocate later stated, “there is no prejudice here.” The advocate, “wants this, [the Latino population] is a part of the community” and the advocate is “welcoming to the new population.”³⁴¹

³³⁸ Lee, “The Social and Ethnic,” 385.

³³⁹ Stipe, “Where Do We,” 471.

³⁴⁰ Interview with historic preservation advocate 5, Woodburn, April 8, 2015.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

Many participants also brought up racism embodied in the town of Woodburn. Historic preservation advocate 1 stated, “This town is very racist, very...people say I don’t care about downtown, I don’t go there, That’s an attitude.”³⁴² Yet, they also state once a population, meaning the Latinos’ in Woodburn, are 70% of the population, why should that population care that there is racism. “That is one of the Hispanic mentalities, thinking ‘I’m not worried about [racism].’”³⁴³ They go on to claim young Hispanics have “chips on their shoulders,” but also state racism goes “both ways.” They can feel the tension but when asked if historic preservation has to do with racism, they state none of the racism stems from historic preservation efforts.³⁴⁴ This again reveals a conflict of thinking a complex social issue, or racism, exists but because they feel it does not “stem from historic preservation,” they do not know how to address it when doing historic preservation advocacy and planning.

Some historic preservation advocates address this external conflict by handing it off to someone else. Historic preservation advocate 4 feels the downtown will eventually become more desirable for businesses because more people will appreciate the diversity they have in Woodburn. Unfortunately, they state, “there is a lot of racism.”³⁴⁵ Woodburn has a negative reputation both in the community and outside, which it does not deserve. They state Woodburn is a beautiful place, close to Portland which “hasn’t been discovered and unfortunately has a negative label and a lot of that is plain old racism.”³⁴⁶ They think younger people are fewer racists and more open minded.³⁴⁷ Advocate 1 states, “The historic preservation is not

³⁴² Interview with historic preservation advocate 1, Woodburn, March 4, 2015.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Interview with historic preservation advocate 4, Woodburn, April 3, 2015.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

happening here but there are bright sides. We need a catalyst to change it, otherwise it will be a generational change.”³⁴⁸ These advocates both feel time and the next generation is an appropriate solution to the exclusion of the Latino culture in Woodburn.

In contrast to this view of racism not stemming from historic preservation, Latino business representative 2 claims historic preservation efforts downtown have not succeeded because appropriate relationships between historic preservation advocates and business owners were not formed. They state, “nobody, including business owners, want an outside entity to tell them what they can and cannot do...the business owners run businesses...[other institutions] talk about them and just knock on the door and say here’s what we want to do, and [the business owners] say – Who are you?”³⁴⁹ Latino business representative 1 also thinks there is implicit racism in Woodburn, not harshly, but just there.³⁵⁰ They claim the racism parallels the history of the country of civil rights. The question then is “how do we work with it and acknowledge it and collaborate to do something meaningful.”³⁵¹

The issue of racism was mentioned in multiple interviews as noted above. In order to address this issue, ideas from an outside source from Woodburn or the historic preservation field sheds some light on what Woodburn is experiencing. Michel Laguerre in his book, *Minoritized Space: An Inquiry into the Spatial Order of Things*, states American society reproduces a racialized place for “ethnic minorities in a fixed category...in a subaltern position in the stratified American social

³⁴⁸ Interview with historic preservation advocate 1, Woodburn, March 4, 2015.

³⁴⁹ Interview with Latino business representative 2, Woodburn, April 10, 2015.

³⁵⁰ Interview with Latino business representative 1, Woodburn, April 8, 2015.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

system.”³⁵² Laguerre specifically states “the problem of multicultural co-existence has been constructed as one of race relations brought about by cultural encounters and differences, the proposed solutions focus on harmonizing asymmetrical differences and inducing adaptation to the mainstream Anglo culture and value system.”³⁵³

According to Laguerre, since the civil rights movement, assimilation has included three assumptions: minorities want to assimilate in order to achieve upward social mobility; they will forever accept second-class citizenship; and they will be provided with free democratic spaces within which to revitalize their subjugated ethnic communities, while the Euro-American segment of the population continues to maintain and enjoy its hegemonic status.³⁵⁴ These ideas are also seen in Woodburn as during interviews, the white, Anglo historic preservation advocates repeatedly mentioned how people thought the Latino business owners were “on the edge financially”³⁵⁵ and that the downtown was “dirty” with trash, gum, and unkempt plants on the sidewalk.³⁵⁶

This understanding of prejudice, racism, and marginalization against Latinos is important to note because it affects how white, Anglo residents *think* Latinos view historic preservation and what the Latinos priorities are. While white, Anglo residents view Latino business owners uneducated about the history of Woodburn, this is incorrect because many Latino families have been in the area since the 1950s. One Latino interviewee stated he had “walked on the same sidewalk since I was 1 year old,” had seen the depot downtown get moved and watched Spanish movies in

³⁵² Michel Laguerre, *Minoritized Space: An Inquiry into the Spatial Order of Things*, (Berkley, CA: Institute of Governmental Studies Press and the Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California, 1999), 1-2.

³⁵³ Laguerre, *Minoritized Space*, 2.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁵⁵ Interview with historic preservation advocate 5, Woodburn, April 5, 2015

³⁵⁶ Interview with historic preservation advocate 3, Woodburn, March 19, 2015

the Pix theatre.³⁵⁷ Another Latino interviewee stated he thought historic preservation in the downtown was good including codes and building oversight, and he still has a thriving business co-existing with the preservation efforts.³⁵⁸ This emphasizes the point of Latino business representative 2 who stated because the Historic Woodburn Downtown Neighborhoods Association was imposing their ideas, top-down, they created a negative attitude towards historic preservation by telling people what to do without building a relationship and communicating with them along the whole process.³⁵⁹

While it is not certain as to why the white, Anglo historic preservation advocates are not acknowledging the Latino community's history as an integral part of the history of downtown, it is certain that the Latino history is almost 50 years old and thus "historic" in the sense of the 50-year rule. Laguerre sees ethnic architecture as differentiating and distancing a community from the rest and used by a majority to justify the minoritization of the group.³⁶⁰ This is an interesting concept to apply to Woodburn, because the Latino population is the majority,³⁶¹ yet the minority, white population, is subjugating the Latinos to leave the power in the hands of the white minority population.

These views show the modern-day understanding of the Latino culture's affect on the historic downtown by the white, Anglo historic preservation advocates. The historic preservation advocates are dealing with both this internal conflict of negotiating the changes Latinos make to buildings while still being economically successful, and the external conflicts, of how society as a whole treats immigrants. This dictates how the advocates respond to Latino representations of historic

³⁵⁷ Interview with Latino business representative 2, Woodburn, April 10, 2015.

³⁵⁸ Interview with Latino business representative 3, Woodburn, April 13, 2015.

³⁵⁹ Interview with Latino business representative 2, Woodburn, April 10, 2015.

³⁶⁰ Laguerre, *Minoritized Space*, 103.

³⁶¹ U.S. Census. "Woodburn."

preservation. This also expresses, in Woodburn, all people within the community currently do not participate in or are not represented in historic preservation activities within the downtown.

Data 2: City's View on the Change in Demographics

Advocates also mentioned the city and its institutions have no common vision as to what Woodburn should look like in the future. This led each interviewee to have different ideas of how to “culturally revitalize” the downtown. Ideas went from creating an Amtrak stop to gentrify the downtown and attract more brewpubs, to embracing the downtown’s Mexican flair and branding it as the “Little Mexico” of Oregon.

“I don’t see economic structure growing to a point that it is promising that Woodburn will turn around at some point...there is no vision on what Woodburn will be in 10 years.”³⁶² Historic preservation advocates almost unanimously thought the city had no vision about where the downtown was headed. Historic preservation advocate 1 stated, the city lacks vision, “Where are we going?...How do we make a difference?”³⁶³ Historic preservation advocate 2 stated, “the city has no vision, they are not involved in historic preservation.” The city council is “stuck on picking up cigarette butts or gum on the sidewalk, not the big picture.”³⁶⁴

One way of creating a strong sense of cultural revitalization is having a higher-level plan such as those produced by the government to inform the thinking of the community. Woodburn does seem to have planning documents such as the “Downtown Development Plan,”³⁶⁵ yet this document minimally includes the Latino

³⁶² Interview with historic preservation advocate 5, April 8, 2015.

³⁶³ Interview with historic preservation advocate 2, Woodburn, March 4, 2015.

³⁶⁴ Interview with historic preservation advocate 1, Woodburn, March 4, 2015.

³⁶⁵ City of Woodburn, “Woodburn Downtown.”

perspective. It describes the Old Town District and statistics of Latino businesses but not necessarily specific planning input from the Latino business owners. All the “visions” that were addressed in the interviews were those from each individual. This shows the historic preservation field in Woodburn does not have a strong understanding of how to include people in the community in the cultural revitalization of the community, and they do not have a community-wide agreement on what Woodburn’s future holds.

Outcome of Understanding Conflicts Surrounding Cultural Revitalization of Place

Along with the historic preservation field, the advocates in Woodburn seem to be struggling with the notion of “who preservation is for?” through arguing for assimilation and not knowing Woodburn’s long-term vision. The outcome of these understandings is that a division between populations and a division between theory and practice exist in the historic preservation field when related to the inclusion of all people who are part of a community. In 1984, a report was conducted regarding the successes and failures of the preservation of cultural heritage in the United States. The report stated “cultural groups bring memories and ways of life from their country of origin and transplant these to their new homes... This is part of the U.S. cultural heritage and worthy of protection.”³⁶⁶ Again, the preservation of cultural sites are advocated for in the field, but little has been done at a local level in *practice* for administering this type of understanding.

Right now historic preservation advocates are in ethnicity silos, the Anglo understanding of the “rules” and history of what it means to historically preserve a site, and individual silos, with each individual having their own vision of how historic preservation can benefit a place such as the downtown in Woodburn. This division is between the different people and populations. As noted in the Literature Review, the notion of “who preservation is for” includes the understanding of place

³⁶⁶ Loomis, “Cultural Conservation.”

as an embodiment of memories, and cultural landscapes as being able to “read” a landscape including social and political issues. Yet, there are many different viewpoints from definitions provided by legislation, definitions provided by scholars, and definitions provided by political climates. This creates these “silos” where people are not sure how to negotiate and compromise their understandings of who preservation is for. By learning more about how to be inclusive in practice, the field will be able to break out of the silos it is currently within.

STEP III. ACKNOWLEDGING BUILDING FEATURES AND MATERIALS ARE NOT ARBITRARY BUT INCLUDE TASK, TIME, AND PLACE OR PRESERVING BUILDINGS IS NOT ENOUGH, PRESERVING LOCAL LIFE WAYS, NATURAL RESOURCES, AND LOCAL ECONOMIES ARE ALSO IMPORTANT

The notion of acknowledging building features and materials as not being arbitrary but including influences of lifeways and local economies is present in the downtown of Woodburn. These influences are most obviously embodied by the Latino population’s aesthetic changes to the buildings both on the exterior and interior. While the Latino population has changed the culture of the intangible aspects of the downtown such as when businesses are open, how much their businesses spill on the street, and how the businesses operate, those aspects will not be addressed in this study based on the aesthetic emphasis the historic preservation advocates placed on the buildings based on the lifeways and economy downtown. To understand these influences, this section will explore if and how the interviewees feel Woodburn’s history is embodied downtown. It will then explore how historic preservation advocates feel their lifestyles are changing due to the Latino businesses.

Data 1: Woodburn’s History Embodied Downtown

The question, “Do you feel the history of Woodburn is embodied in the downtown?” reveals how interviewees think buildings portray history. This

question revealed a dichotomy including, yes, because of the memories associated with the railroad and growth of town and, no, because the aesthetics of the downtown changed from the buildings original build date. Three out of the seven historic preservation advocates stated yes, the history was embodied in the downtown, three said no, and one said spiritually, yes, but visually, no.

Quotes such as the downtown of Woodburn must be maintained because it is the “heart or living room of the town” and people have an “emotional bond with the downtown, not the outlet mall,” specifically relate to the emotional experience with the building not the businesses.³⁶⁷ The “yes” responses seem to focus on preserving the local lifeways and economy or at least the “historic” sense of these aspects because they mention emotional bonds, the railroad, and the embodiment of history even if it has had other changes to the aesthetics. This is beginning to get at the notion of “layering” history because they acknowledge that even though there have been aesthetic changes, the “emotional bond” is important when understanding the history in Woodburn. This relates to the notion of a cultural landscape as well, including the associations with a site, not just the designers intent but also a complex “web of social relations that evolved over time.”³⁶⁸

The quote from a “no” response claims, “Changes that have been made [to the downtown] compared to old pictures do not compare.”³⁶⁹ Most “no” comments specifically relate to how the buildings look compared to historic pictures of the downtown or the change in the economy from certain businesses to the new Latino businesses. This view does not leave room for lifeways and economies, but is just a single sided answer to the question.

³⁶⁷ Interview with historic preservation advocate 2, Woodburn, March 4, 2015.

³⁶⁸ Hurley, *Beyond Preservation*, 39.

³⁶⁹ Interview with historic preservation advocate 7, Woodburn, March 19, 2015.

Lack of acknowledging local lifeways and economies are also seen within the historic preservation field with the emphasis placed on the build date, not acknowledging changes come with time. As Zelinsky states, the dominant culture or pervasive ethnic group in the United States is Anglo-American, which is the product of various immigrant groups and their cultures from northwest Europe. The preservation field needs to look beyond this cultural group to embrace other cultures.³⁷⁰ The attachment to understanding history based on what the dominant culture feels is history, again does not acknowledging the temporal component of change to the historic environment.

Data 2: Lifestyle

*Wouldn't it be great to call an old girlfriend in the morning and say, "Let's go have coffee?" We can go to Denny's, Elmer's, or Sheri's...you have to reduce your standards because that's what's available...resentment exists towards downtown because everything has changed, shopping patterns, a whole **lifestyle** change.*³⁷¹

As noted earlier, some interviewees stated they felt their lifestyles were changed because the Latino businesses are in the downtown. The Anglo preservation advocates have a certain view associated with how they feel a historic downtown should operate and the role they should play in that operation. In this case, the majority of white, Anglos feel a historic downtown should have specialty businesses and restaurants that cater to their notion of a historic downtown, one with coffee shops, boutiques, and breweries. This notion is viewed as upholding their "lifestyle." Advocates feel the Latino culture requires them to "lower their expectations" today.³⁷²

³⁷⁰ Zelinsky, "Seeing Beyond," 157.

³⁷¹ Interview with historic preservation advocate 6, Woodburn, April 8, 2015.

³⁷² Ibid.

These notions of the history changing a “way of life” indicates how the interviewees understand building features. The advocates who are upset that their lifestyle is changing are not acknowledging the buildings features and materials change with time and task such as the influx of the Latino culture and their lifeways. Again, a layered, flexible understanding such as a “new” vernacular form would give these advocates a framework for accepting history as not just defined by building features but all local lifeways including the Latino culture, the local economy, and natural resources associated with the downtown.

Outcome of Understanding Conflicts Surrounding Building Features

These ideas of temporal rigidity and visual rigidity lead to minimal “negotiations” about what is history and how a new culture fits into that definition of history. The advocates who said “no” to the history of Woodburn embodied downtown said it very clearly and without hesitation. This revealed the argument for history embodied downtown would have to be very convincing to change their mind. The idea of history embodied downtown and lifestyle change also shows the understandings of historic character, historic integrity, and historic significance are still biased towards the Anglo understanding of historic preservation the field has clung to since its inception. By having a rigid understanding of history and non-flexible understanding of historic guidelines, the historic preservation advocates in Woodburn leave little room for the inclusion of the Latino culture. This in turn is felt by the Latino culture, perpetuating the external conflicts between the two groups.

CHAPTER VI

OUTCOMES OF UNDERSTANDING THE REGIONAL FILTER

The outcome of in-depth interviews through Heath's three-step framework for understanding regional distinctiveness reveals the conflicts surrounding the historic preservation field and the local conflicts surrounding the "new" vernacular form framework in Woodburn. This information is pertinent to understanding how Woodburn is negotiating the changing demographics in their downtown.

Understanding the downtown of Woodburn as a "new" vernacular form is important to overcome the social and political struggles surrounding historic preservation in Woodburn, as analyzed above. While no advocate mentioned the "Latino Small Businesses and Downtown Development Plan" conducted in Woodburn, in 2012, the study sums up the outcome of understanding Woodburn as a "new" vernacular form, mentioning a new common identity and sense of place can become a part of promotions, advertising, and wayfinding to support a healthy and sustainable economic base for the community.³⁷³ "The common heritage that develops can then become the basis of not only economic growth and stability, but of community pride which helps transform a disinvested downtown into a vibrant and shared space that both communities can celebrate."³⁷⁴

Each community and town is different, but the historic preservation field needs to start embracing this notion of diversity as soon as possible. The issue of diversity has been minimally addressed academically in the field, but practices should also be shared and learning opportunities from all constituents shared to the

³⁷³ "Latino Small Businesses and Downtown Development Plan," 23.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

broader field. Right now, the historic preservation field mostly reacts negatively towards new cultures affecting a historic structure. The framework of “new” vernacular forms provides a way and necessity of adapting to these layers yet holding onto history. By working to connect interdisciplinary technologies, such as those within city planning, anthropology, cultural geography, and historic preservation, a convergence can emerge enabling the historic preservation field to negotiate the evolution and tensions of a demographically changing society.

The following will present a few ways to compromise and negotiate to build communication and understanding between Woodburn historic preservation advocates and Latino business owners.

1: SEEING A SITUATION AS A “NEW” VERNACULAR FORM

By being able to apply Heath’s framework for understanding a “new” vernacular form to a locale, the preservationist can gain an understanding of what is going on and influencing the regional changes of an area. As seen in Woodburn, the “regional filter” in the structural model is currently full of conflicts instead of opportunities for negotiation. See Figure 6.1. By changing the notion of conflict to a notion of working towards a common vision through the three steps to understanding local distinctiveness, (1) recognizing what holds meaning and embodies the cultural relevance within the community; (2) understanding the cultural revitalization of Place relies on the inclusion of the people who are a part of its community; (3) acknowledging building features and materials are not arbitrary but includes task, time, and place or preserving buildings is not enough, preserving local life ways, natural resources, and local economies are also important,³⁷⁵ will create an identity that all people in Woodburn can take pride in.

³⁷⁵ Heath, *Vernacular Architecture*, 41.

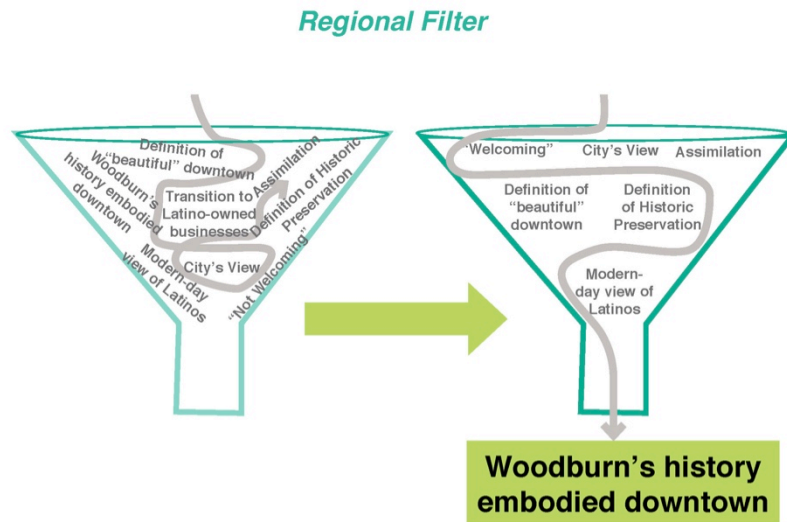


Figure 6.1. Graphic by Julia Larson.

2: FINDING A CATALYST TO TELL HISTORY FROM A MANY-LAYERED NARRATIVE

Many scholars recommend finding a way to understand history from a many-layered narrative. As mentioned earlier, Hurley believes developments in the fields of public history and archaeology can be used as precedents to help align historical narratives with historic preservation. This subsequently can lead to revitalization of urban places.³⁷⁶ Kaufman states three aspects of the preservation field he feels is lacking in diversity. This first aspect is Content, the narrative that preservation offers to the public, diminishing immigrant and minority groups.³⁷⁷ By creating a catalyst to tell history from a many-layered narrative, Woodburn can have the opportunity to be inclusive of all people and all histories within their town. Interestingly, one Latino representative stated, “I think architecturally [a downtown] can portray layers of history, but not sure there is a way to do that and

³⁷⁶ Andrew Hurley, *Beyond Preservation*, x.

³⁷⁷ Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 11-12.

have the Latino business owners feel represented through their aesthetic.”³⁷⁸ While this seems to be a negative view of understanding “layering” of history within the downtown, it provides an opportunity to change this thinking. It reveals aesthetics are important to Latino business owners and again, should be compromised. Having their history portrayed through public art or murals should not just appease Latino business owners, their history should also be revealed through the aesthetics of a building. Maybe there should be interpretive panels and murals for the Anglo history, and some of the buildings downtown remain under full control of how the business owners want to design them aesthetically.

Pix Theatre

One building described as embodying the history of Woodburn in the downtown area, but not currently benefitting the downtown is the Pix Theatre. Advocate 2 stated the Pix theatre is a building, which needs investment, and if it were to be re-developed, it would be a catalyst for the re-development of all of First Street.³⁷⁹ Advocate 4 thinks that while the Pix theatre is important; the owners are not local so it has an unknown fate. The owners just are not interested in making a thriving area in downtown Woodburn.³⁸⁰ Advocate 5 specifically stated Woodburn is a “sleepy little town pretty much and it does not have anything to hold people there like a theatre.”³⁸¹ The city official also acknowledged the Pix Theatre as being important and that the city is “working with the owner of the Pix Theatre on an individual basis.”³⁸² See Figure 6.2.

³⁷⁸ Interview with Latino business representative 1, Woodburn, April 8, 2015

³⁷⁹ Interview with historic preservation advocate 2, Woodburn, March 4, 2015.

³⁸⁰ Interview with historic preservation advocate 4, Woodburn, April 3, 2015.

³⁸¹ Interview with historic preservation advocate 5, Woodburn, April 5, 2015.

³⁸² Interview with city official 1, Woodburn, March 9, 2015



Figure 6.2. Pix Theatre on First Street facing southwest. Woodburn, Oregon. April 2015. Photo by Julia Larson.

Interestingly, even the Latino Business representative who has lived in Woodburn their whole life mentioned the importance of the “Pix.” They stated the Pix Theatre is

*near and dear to me. As a young boy, on Sunday afternoons we would go to the Pix and it was a thriving business. They would show Spanish language movies specifically Cantinflas, the Spanish Charlie Chaplin. It’s crumbling now. My dream would be to restore it back to a theatre... but the obstacle is the private owner who wants lots of money for it. It’s being held hostage.*³⁸³

They go on to state the Pix Theatre has more value than money, “a historic preservation thing.”³⁸⁴

³⁸³ Interview with Latino business representative 2, Woodburn, April 10, 2015.

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

These comments on the integral nature of the Pix Theatre to Woodburn's downtown are important because they clarify that the Pix Theatre is not just an arbitrary building that should be restored. Its restoration includes acknowledging current local lifeways. First, the opportunity for additional entertainment downtown, and second, increasing the economy by attracting more people downtown. Both also relate to the *historic* life way and *historic* economy the theatre brought to downtown Woodburn. If the economy allows, the restoration of the Pix Theatre could be a perfect example of "layering" history in downtown by preserving its original use as a theatre while acknowledging the new cultural influence by hosting movies and events that cater to the white, Anglo population and the Latino population.

Downtown Plaza

In 2005 the Latin-American-styled plaza in the heart of downtown was inaugurated through the urban renewal initiative.³⁸⁵ The Anglo interviewees gave the plaza as an example of a place they felt was "clean" downtown and a place they enjoyed being at. The Latino representatives also mentioned the plaza as a place the Latino culture was visually portrayed and gave opportunity for cultural expression such as music at the Plaza. This kind of space invited multiple cultures to enjoy and also an opportunity for the cultural expression of the marginalized, Latino community.

Other Precedents

Other catalyst opportunities include public art such as murals and sculptures downtown. The American Planning Association's "Art and Culture Briefing Paper 02: Community Heritage and Culture," states four key points on how the arts and

³⁸⁵ Nelson, "Racialized Landscapes," 56.

cultural sector can strengthen cultural values and preserve heritage and history.³⁸⁶ Keypoint #4 states, “Using venues such as parks, open spaces, and public streetscapes as places for arts and cultural expressions can be an effective way to integrate history and heritage into the everyday lived experience.”³⁸⁷ The Brief gives precedents such as art integrated into the public sidewalk in the Little Tokyo section of Los Angeles, and the Meridian Hill Park weekly drum circle in Washington D. C.³⁸⁸

Preserving the notion of “historic character” while incorporating the “flavor of the business” is also important when looking specifically at the architecture of a building. The MainStreet Program published an article in 2012 entitled, “America in Translation: Hispanic Heritage on MainStreet.” It stated ways of celebrating Hispanic heritage including respecting cultural diversity as part of the design of a building.³⁸⁹ A MainStreet manager in Harlington, TX stated bringing in interior designers and architects to work with business owners educates the business owners on the importance of the community’s architectural heritage while including the aesthetics the business owners want.³⁹⁰ See Figure 6.3. This type of façade improvement can be done to be “clean” and preserve a “layer” of Anglo history. It can also preserve a “layer” of another culture’s history and allow the business to make its own design decisions without causing gentrification.

³⁸⁶ Kelly Ann Beavers, Kimberley Hodgson, and Maria Rosario Jackson, “Art and Culture Briefing Paper 02: Community Heritage and Culture,” *American Planning Association* (2011).

³⁸⁷ Beavers, Hodgson, and Jackson, “Art and Culture Briefing Paper.”

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Conan Cheong, “America in Translation: Hispanic Heritage on Main Street,” Main Street Center (2012), accessed May 24, 2015, <http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/main-street-news/story-of-the-week/2012/120927hispanic/translating-america-hispanic.html?referrer=https://www.google.com/#.VWLAGmRViko>.

³⁹⁰ Conan Cheong, “America in Translation.”



Figure 6.3. Example of a business façade improvement with “flair.” Philadelphia, PA. February 20, 2015. “5th Street Commercial Corridor Featured in Plan Philly’s ‘Eyes on the Street,’” *Esperanza*, accessed May 24, 2014, <http://www.esperanza.us/5th-street-commercial-corridor-featured-in-plan-phillys-eyes-on-the-street/>.

One final suggestion would be to create a repository for historic preservation advocates who are interested in Hispanic history. A precedent for this notion would be the California Japantowns website.³⁹¹ This website’s goal is to “engage new audiences and educate visitors about the historic legacies of Japantowns, or Nihonmachis, across the state [of California].”³⁹² The website includes information on nominating Japanese related sites and buildings to the National Register, a “preservation toolkit” when researching Japanese history, and information on how

³⁹¹ “California Japantowns,” accessed May 24, 2015, <http://www.californiajapantowns.org/projectteam.html>.

³⁹² “California Japantowns.”

to conduct oral interviews, among other resources.³⁹³ This type of resource for Hispanic history in Oregon would aid preservation professionals in understanding the importance of the Hispanic layer of history to their communities.

3: CREATE AN INCLUSIVE VISION FOR DOWNTOWN WOODBURN

While plans have been conducted in Woodburn, they have not been able to gain momentum due to either the lack of participation from all populations in the process or the inability to create compromise and negotiation where all people feel benefitted. This is also indicative of the need for the Latino population and the Anglo population to continue to build relationships and work with each other to build trust before jumping into any projects. This would create a vibrant social dialogue necessary to the success of historic preservation efforts in the downtown.

FURTHER ANALYSIS

While this is a thorough analysis, further research can be done to supplement this research. This includes the next step of designing policy or planning practices that can be implemented to aid the historic preservation stakeholders in understanding historic preservation from the “new” vernacular form framework. Research on specific cultures such as historic preservation from a Latino perspective would aid in the guidance of policy when understanding this framework. Asking questions such as; Why are we preserving something?; Are all the layers of history being told?; Should we re-write the National Register criteria to be more inclusive?; How can we be inclusive in telling history when doing adaptive re-use?, are all examples of subsequent questions arising from this study. Research collaborating across disciplines and with multiple stakeholders creates a robust, diverse understanding of how the historic preservation field will better suit the needs of the current population; the population whose identity and history the field is trying to uphold.

³⁹³ “California Japantowns.

CHAPTER VII

ADVOCACY FOR “NEW” VERNACULAR FORMS

The field of historic preservation needs to reconsider the 50-year rule and the focus on architectural aesthetics of an original build date when looking at buildings affected by demographic change. While this thesis is not arguing every building and everything should be preserved, it does argue the field of historic preservation needs to address changes to buildings as an acceptable aspect of history. Whether it is how people define historic preservation, how they define beauty or taste, what is welcoming to them, or how prejudice is felt between populations, people’s views should be at the core of addressing demographic change within historic preservation efforts. Through understanding the power dynamics and views associated with historic places and spaces, specifically in areas greatly affected by changing demographics such as historic downtowns, this study advocates private business, private building owners, and the general public can be involved in collaborations and partnerships to benefit the community’s public places and spaces and preserve its history.

This type of understanding is important because of three main aspects. First, this inclusive understanding will improve support for the historic preservation field. Because more constituents’ history will be told and their input be valued in the preservation process, conflict between differing demographics will be minimized. Second, the understanding will improve local economies. By supporting a regional identity that has full support from every constituent in the community, minimal backlash and no negative feelings will impede efforts to preserve the historic structures of buildings. The local economies will also benefit because businesses will then be able to apply for funding even if the “historic character” is gone, as long as the historic structure is maintained. Third, “new” vernacular forms are important because it educates the community about their history. This history will be broad including the past up to the present. In this sense, all people in the community and

outside of the community can learn from the past and create a sense of place and identity for everyone to embrace today.

This thesis has given a foundation of some of the tensions and conflicts that have and will arise from a historic preservation perspective in a downtown affected by new populations. Moving forward, this thesis can be built upon to ask more questions, but more importantly to be a beginning to start trying tactics to redefine what is historic within the community. “Latino Small Businesses and Downtown Development Plan” suggests,

While public participation and cultural competency are important for bridging the divide between the existing and new population, revitalization and placemaking also require a balance between acknowledging the common heritage of the past while embracing the cultural diversity of today.³⁹⁴

History can embrace a period over time including identities from today and yesterday, the field needs to understand how to apply the “new” vernacular forms framework and embrace diversity head-on in order to create a relevancy to populations today and a lasting legacy for generations to come.

³⁹⁴ “Latino Small Businesses and Downtown Development Plan,” 22.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Background

1. How long have you lived in Woodburn, Oregon?
 - a. Does your family have a history here?
 - b. If so can you describe it?
2. What kind of changes in the historic downtown have you seen since you started living in Woodburn?
 - a. What do you think of these changes?
3. What would you describe is your ethnic background?
4. What is your favorite space in downtown Woodburn?
 - a. Why?

General Questions

1. What is your view of historic preservation?
 - a. A certain time period or event? Or an ongoing history?...
 - b. Do you see Woodburn's history embodied in its historic downtown core?
 - c. Is there a different history you'd like to see interpreted in the historic downtown core?
2. Do you value the historic preservation of Woodburn?
 - a. Why or why not?
3. What kinds of historic preservation efforts have you seen in downtown Woodburn?
 - a. Have they been successful? Why or why not?
 - b. What would you change about the historic preservation efforts in order to make them more successful?
4. What kind of historic preservation efforts is the City of Woodburn doing with the historic downtown?
 - a. Do you feel historic preservation is a value for city officials?

- i. If so, how are they showing it is a value? If not, how are they showing it is not?
- 5. What do you think of the cultural influence on the downtown core?
 - a. Where are you seeing this influence within the downtown core?
 - b. Do you feel other cultures are economically benefitting the downtown of Woodburn?
 - c. How does the influence of other cultures on the downtown buildings and spaces affect how you feel about those spaces?
- 6. Do you feel there are conflicts in the downtown historic core around historic preservation efforts and Latino business owners?
 - a. If so when and why?
- 7. Do you feel there is an equitable way to tell the history of the downtown of Woodburn or is it already being equitable?
 - a. Why or why not?

WRAP-UP

- 1. What do you *feel* is the future of Woodburn's historic downtown?
 - a. Is this beneficial or not beneficial for the downtown of Woodburn? Why?
 - b. Is this economically beneficial for Woodburn?
- 2. What would you *like* to see happen with Woodburn's historic downtown?
 - a. Why?
 - b. Do you feel this is an equitable solution for all the populations involved? Why or why not?
- 3. Is there anything you would like to add that I have not covered or you would like to expand upon?

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